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INDEX OF CONTENTS

TO

THE VOLUME FOR 1841.

[The Original Papers are distinguished either by Italics, or a different type from the body of the Index.]

Abbott's T'Hakoorine, 220
Aberdeen, Bruce's Lives of Eminent Men of, 663
Adams's Etonian, 973
Adventures of Susan Hopley, 93
Æschylus and Sophocles, Boyes' Illustrations of, 210
Ainsworth's Tower of London, 13
Ainsworth's, 618
Old Saint Paul's, 970
Akerman's Numismatic Manual, 260
Alda, by Miss Strickland, 189
Alford's Chapters on Poets of Ancient Greece, 35
Algebra, Elements of, by Foster, 170
Wallace's Elements of, 443
Alice, by W. P. Isaacson, 715
Alice Russell, by Mrs. Williams, 972
Alleyn, Collier's Memoirs of, 163
Alleyn, by J. Payne Collier, 663
Almanac for 1841—The London, 133
Almanacs for 1842—(The Bijou) 915, 973
Alphabets, on Propagation of, by Dr. Wall, 727
Alport's Camberwell, 893
Amenities of Literature, by I. D'Israeli, 684, 712, 724
America, by Buckingham, 437, 456
Canals and Railroads, by H. S. Tanner, 987
Central, by Stephens, 574, 589, 616, 641, [see also p. 794]
Discovery of, by the Northmen, by N. L.
Beamish, 499
Public Works in, by W. Strickland, 987
Amesbury on Deformities of the Spine, 280
Amusements of the World, by Rev. H. Woodward, 441
Animal Regime, by G. P. R. James, 539
Animals, Domestic, Low's Illustrations of the Horse, —the Sheep, 473
Animal Kingdom, Jones's General Outline of, 338
Animal World, Stories of, by Draper, 306
Annals of the Parish, by Galt, 931
ANNUALS for 1842:
The Gift—Forget-me-Not, 610. Keepsake—Book of Beauty—Picturesque Annual, 832. Friendship's Offering, 653. Hood's Comic (with four wood-cuts), 890. Christian Souvenir, by Taylor—Token, 970
Antarctic Expedition, 191; Letters from Sir J. Franklin, 284, 622; Further news, 619, 748
Antiquities, Greek and Roman, Dictionary of, Sect. 1, (with eighteen wood-cuts) 89; Sect. 2. (with thirty-three wood-cuts), 872, 929
Appeal to British Public on Commerce and Education, 364
Arcana Entomologica, by J. O. Westwood, 443
Architecture, Cockerell's Lectures—Competition, 114, 156, [see also pp. 191, 508, 580, 716, 787]
Architecture, Gothic, Chart of, 893
Arithmetical and Commercial Dictionary, by Barnes, 133
Army List, Hart's New Annual, 35
Around the World, 108
Arts (Fine). Report from Select Committee upon, 761
Art Union, The, 996, [see also p. 643]
Ashantee and Gold Coast, by J. Beecham, 707
Astronomy, Reid's Catechism of, 993
Athanasius (St.), the Creed of, Proved by a Mathematical Parallel, 188
Audin's History of Life and Writings of Calvin, 845
Aurora Borealis of March 22. Letter from Prof. Chevallier, 340—see also p. 266, Letter from Prof. Stevelly.
Austin on Present Competition in Architecture, 787, [see also pp. 114, 156, 191, 508, 580, 716]
Austin's Fragments from German Prose Writers, 424
Australia, Expeditions in, by G. Grey, 907, 952
Azores, Winter in, &c., by Bullar, (with seven wood-cuts), 504
Baillie's (Mrs.) Fugitive Verses, 69
Baillie's (R.) Letters and Journals of, edited by Laing, 771, 789
Ballads, Ancient Spanish, by Lockhart, 825
Balling's Description of Kissingen, 762
Baltic, a Residence on the Shores of, 885, 910
Barlow's Reports on Iron Rails, 483
Barnes's Arithmetical and Commercial Dictionary, 133
Barnes's Investigation of Laws of Case in Language, 75

Barrow's Tour in Austria, Lombardy, &c., 618
Barton's (Lucy) The Oratory, 715
Barth's Examples and Warnings, 973
Baths of Germany, by E. Lee, 35
Bayly's Selwood Wreath, 521
Beauchamp's Discovery of America by Northmen, 499
Beecham's Ashantee and Gold Coast, 707
Beecher's Tables for reducing Foreign Lineal Measures, 170
Beethoven. Life of, Edited by Moscheles, 123, 150
Beke (Dr.), Letters from, 172; at Fiahr, 370; Ankoher, 491, 978; News of, 780, 859; from Angolalla, 936
Belgium, by J. E. Tennent, 236
Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, 614, 659
Benevolence, Public, by Degerando, 357
Bermondsey, History of, by Phillips, 855
Bible Stories, from the Creation to the Conquest of Canaan, by Bussey, 189
Bidwill's Rambles in New Zealand, 821
Birds, British, by Yarrell, 338, 663
Birt on Hourly Observations of the Barometer, (with a diagram) 995
Bishop, The, 419
Black's Picturesque Tourist in Scotland, 619
Picturesque Guide to English Lakes, 619
Blackett on Use of Spirit Level, 893
Blanchard's Life and Literary Remains of Miss London, 421 [see also p. 15]
Blessington's (Lady) Idler in France, 469, 488
Blue Belles of England, by Mrs. Trollope, 972
Bonnycastle's Canadas, 948
Book without a Name, by Sir C. and Lady Morgan, 203, 221
Borrow's Zincoli, or Gypsies in Spain, 318, 334, 362
Bosquet on Rights of the Poor, 357
Botanical Dictionary, Paxton's, 226
Boué's (Ami) Turkey in Europe, 299, 320
Bowden's Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII., 70
Boyes' Illustrations of Æschylus and Sophocles, 210
Bradshaw's Map of Railways of Great Britain, 483
Bray's Mountains and Lakes of Switzerland, 74
Bray's Philosophy of Necessity, 972
Brayley, Britton, and Mantell's History of Surrey, 81
Brewster's Martyrs of Science, 183
Brooks on Navigation of Rivers, 442
Browne's Erro, 241
Browning's Pippa Passes, 952
Bruce's Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen, 663
Buckingham's America, 437, 456
Address, Temperance Intelligencer, 46
Bullar's Winter in Azores (with seven wood-cuts), 470, 504
Bulwer's Night and Morning, 45
Burdon's Thirst for Gold, 94
Buret on Working Classes of England and France, 357
Burgundy and Champagne, the Vines of, by M. Clerc, 777
Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commons, 515, 534
Bussey's Bible Stories, 189
Byrne's Doctrine of Proportion, 210
Byrne on Best Means of Propelling Ships, 442
Calabria, an Autumn Ramble in, 694
Calvin, Life and Writings of, by Audin, 845
on St. Paul's Epistles, 364
Camberwell, Alport's, 893
Cambridge, University of, by Dr. Peacock, 83
Camden Society—Brakelond's (De) Chronicle of Monastery of St. Edmund, 29; Chronicle of William de Rishanger, of the Barons' Wars—Miracles of Simon de Montfort, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 223; Narratives illustrative of Contests of Ireland in 1611 and 1690, edited by T. C. Croker, 739; Mapes's Latin Poems, 992
Campbell's (Harriette) Cardinal Virtues, 155
Campbell's Life of Petrarch, 379, 490
Campbell's Old Forest Ranger, 972
Canadas, by Sir R. H. Bonnycastle, 948
Canadian Naturalist, by Gosse, 260
Canals and Railroads in United States, by H. S. Tanner, 987

Carleton's Fawn of Spring-Vale, 335
Carlisle, Siege of, by Tullie, 954
Carmichael's Tales of a Grandmother, 94
Case in Language, Barnes's Investigation of, 75
Caspian and Aral Seas, by Carl Zimmerman, 133
Cathrey's Rosabel and Helvetia, 404
Catlin's Letters and Notes on North American Indians, 755, 792
Cecil, 185;—Cecil, a Peer, 870
Ceylon, Rambles in, by De Butts, 991
Charles Chesterfield, by Mrs. Trollope, 740
Charles O'Malley, by Harry Lorrequer, 166
Chatterton's (Lady) Home Sketches, 399
Chaucer, Poems of, Modernized, 107
Chemistry, Elements of, by Dr. Kane—Inorganic, by Prof. Graham, 210
Chess Player's Chronicle, 954
Childe Harold Illustrated, 809
Childhood, by H. M. R., 521
Children, Employment of, in Factories, by Leonard Horner, 109
Children of the Mobility, 154
China, Illustrations of the Symbols, Philosophy, Antiquities, &c. by Prof. Kidd, 743
Recent Imprisonment in, by J. L. Scott, 923
Review of our Management of Affairs in, 14
Sketches of, by J. F. Davis, 381
Chinese as they are, by G. T. Lay, 381
Expedition, Six Months with, by Lord Jocelyn, 206
Chivalry and Charity, 189
Chorley's Music and Manners in France and Germany, 485, 518
Chowne's Oration, 926
Christ and Anti-Christ, 539
Christian Females, Gardner's Memoirs of, 458
Souvenir, by Rev. C. Tayler, 970
Christmas Eve, 226
Church History, by Dodd, with Notes, by Tierney, 794
Civil Engineering, Elementary Course of, by D. H. Mahan, 987
Clay's Geological Sketches, 354
Clay's Report of Preston House of Correction, 851
Clemens's Manners and Customs of Society in India, 692
Clerc's Vines of Burgundy and Champagne, 777
Coal, Fyfe on Different Powers of, 364;—Combustion of, by Williams, 188, [see also p. 834]
Cochrane's Morea, 386
Cockayne's Civil History of the Jews, 155
Cockburn on Creation of World, 364
Cockton's Stanley Thorn, 892
Cœur de Lion, by James, 995
Colin Clink, by Hooton, 338
Collier's Memoirs of Alleyn, 163, [see also p. 663]
Colman Family, Peake's Memoirs of, 239
Colonization and Colonies, by H. Merivale, 663
Colquhoun's The Moor and the Loch, 741
Commons, Purke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of, 515, 534
Competition in Architecture, Austin's Thoughts on Present System, 787, [see also pp. 114, 156, 191, 508, 580, 716]
Compton Auction, by Lord William Lennox, 290
Comyn's (Sir R.) History of Western Empire, 683, 711
CONCERTS:
Music for the People, singing School in Exeter Hall, 17, 115; Cathedral Music, 77, 36; Alessa's Choral Psalmody, 97; Wilhelm's Method of Teaching Singing, by J. Hullah, 564; Testimonial to Mr. Hullah, 796. Shilling Concerts, 37, 76, 118, 667, 766. Madame Dulcken and M. Benedict's Concert, 118. Philharmonic Concerts, 1st, 194, 2nd, 229, 3rd, 266, 4th, 328, 5th, 372, 6th, 412, 7th, 446, 8th, 478. Quartet Concerts, 1st, 194, 3rd, 246, 4th, 263, 5th, 328, 6th, 353. Society of British Musicians, 213. Sacred Harmonic Society—Perry's Death of Abel, 246; Handel's Jephtha, 291; Anthem Concerts 428; Spohr's Last Judgment, 813. Miss Sterling's Organ Playing, 263. Professional Choral Society—The Seasons, 266. Societa Armonica—Second Concert, 306, 462, 478, 510. Ancient Concerts—H.R.H. Prince, Albert's Night, 345. Society of Female Musicians—L'Allegro, 346. Madame Caradot Allan's Concert, 369. Miss Steele's Concert, 411. M. Benedict's Concert—Miss Il. Roedel's Concert, 412. Mrs. Anderson's Con-

CONCERTS—continued.

cert, 428. Madame Dulcken's Concert—Signora Ernesta Grisi's Concert, 446. Miss Broadhurst and Mdlle. Ostergard's Concert—Messrs. Kjalmark and Chatterton's Concert—Matinee at Stafford House—Mr. Elliott's Concert—M. A. Russo and Luigi Elena's Concert—Lidel and Regondi's Concert, 462. M. Lizi's Recitals—Mrs. W. Seguin and Miss Bruce Wyatt's Concert—Signor F. Lablache's Concert—Mr. F. Williams's Concert, 478. Concerts for Mr. Willman and Mr. Godbe's Families—Miss Kemble's Concert, 510. Miss Russell's Concert, 938.

Conchologist's (Young) Book of Species, by Hanley, 364.

Conger's Letter on Railway Transit, 483.

Congress of Nations, Ladd's Essay on, 94.

Cooley's Negroland of the Arabs Explained, 439.

Cooper's Deer Slayer, 708.

Copyright Question—M. Villemain's Bill—Mr. Serjeant Talfourd's Bill, 155; Copyright of Designs, by Tennent, 205; King Leopold and the Belgian Deputation, 358; Talfourd's Speech about Shelley's Works, 869.

Corn and Consols, 426.

Cornier's History of Poland, 973.

Corsair's Bridal, by Henry, 260.

Corse de Leon, by G. P. R. James, 188.

Costello's Adventures of a Soldier, 804.

Costello's Queen's Poisoner, 403.

Count de Denia, by H. H. Hoskins, 591.

Courts of Europe at Close of the Last Century, by Swinburne, 181, 208, 224.

Cousin Nicholas, by T. T. Ingoldby, 305.

Coverly Mysteries, edited by Halliwell, 686; *Note from Mr. Halliwell*, 718.

Cowper's Poems, by Rev. T. Dale, 893.

Craig's Rotatory Steam Engine explained, 442.

Creation of the World, by Cockburn, 364.

Croker's Narratives illustrative of Contests in Ireland, 739.

Cruikshank's Omnibus, 360.

D'Abbadie, Mr.—*Letter from A'den*, 54; *Letter to the Times*, 115; *from Suez*, 190; *from Tadjourah*, 778, 795, 812; *from Barbarah*, 831.

Dacre of the South, by Mrs. Gore, 13.

Daguerreotype, New Discovery in, 95; M. Fieau's Improvement, 212; Dr. Berres' Engravings, and Patent Reflecting Apparatus, 227; M. Daguerre's New Discoveries, 539.

Damer's (Mrs.) Tour in Greece, Turkey, &c., 457.

Daniel's Merrie England in Olden Time, 989.

Darley's Ethelstan, 126.

Dates, Dictionary of, by J. Haydn, 443.

D'Aubigné's History of the Great Reformation, 554.

Daubigny's Geology of N. America, 521.

Davis's Sketches of China, 381.

Davies's Handmaid, 592.

Davies's History of Holland, 536.

Dawnings of Genius, by Anne Pratt, 521.

Day's Treatise on Proportion, 226.

Death of Abel, 426.

Death, Philosophy of, by Reid, 503.

De Butts's Rambles in Ceylon, 991.

Decimal System of Money, by D. Maslen, 618.

Deerslayer, The, by Cooper, 708.

Degerando on Public Benevolence, 357.

Delaroc's Picture at Palace of Fine Arts, Paris, 965 [see also p. 975].

Delights of a Dictionary, 932.

Delusions, Popular, Memoirs of, by Mackay, 848, 887.

De Michel's Manual of the Middle Ages, 521.

Dendy's Philosophy of Mystery, 453.

Denton's Outline of a Method of Model-Mapping, 593.

Devrient's Letters on Paris, 382.

Di'Israeli's Ampleties of Literature, 684, 712, 724.

Dives and Lazarus, by B. Stabile, 693.

Dodd's Church History, with Notes by Tierney, 794.

Dodd's Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, 279.

Dogs, Dissertation on, 974.

Dover, Ancient and Modern, by Sir K. P. Jodrell, 521.

Drana of a Life, by Reade, 70.

Draper's Stories of Animal World, 306.

Dreaming Girl, and other Poems, by Taylor, 170.

Drummond of Connelton on Fine Arts with Religion, 132.

Duelling, Millingen's History of, 333.

Dunbar's Pulpit Recollections, 210.

Duncan's History of Guernsey, 806.

East, Hailbronner's Travels in the, 358.

East India Year Book, 443.

Economy, Popular, Outlines of, by Symons, 14.

Education: Minutes of Committee of Council of Education in Holland, &c., by Hickson, 14; Education of Lower Classes, by Hamilton, 338; Reports on Training of Pauper Children, 357; Report on State of Parochial Education in Diocese of Salisbury, 364; Letters on Public Education, by Philanthropos, 474; Hints on Art of Teaching, 592; Hand-Book of Grammar, 593.

Efe's Dammim, by Levinsohn, 763.

Egypt, the Antiquities of, 315.

Egyptians, Manners and Customs of Ancient, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (with sixteen wood-cuts), 315.

Election, The, 870.

Electrotype: *Havell's Discovery*, Letter from Mr. Palmer, 36; *Impressions of Electrotype Plate*, Letter from Mr. Bruce, 461; *Electrotype Seals*, Letter from W. Lover, 564.

Ellen Braye, 993.

Elphinstone's History of India, 235.

Emerson's Essays, with Preface by Carlyle, 803.

Encyclopædia Britannica, 776, 993.

Engagement, The, 226.

England, History of, under House of Stuart, 304.

English Maiden, 972.

English School Books: Oral Exercises, by Edwards and Cross, 210; Practical English Grammar, by Simmonite, 592; King's Grammatical Chart, 746; Do-

herthy's Introduction to English Grammar, 954.

Engraving, Art of, by Fielding, 128.

Erring, by E. N. Browne, 241.

Espy's Philosophy of Storms, 994.

Ethelstan, by G. Darley, 126.

Etruria, Sepulchres of, by Mrs. H. Gray, 67.

Eva, by Lady E. S. Wortley, 14.

Eva von Troth, 404.

EXHIBITIONS:

Panorama—*Damascus*, 15—*St. Jean d'Acre*, 115—*Jerusalem*, 645; *Diorama—The Cathedral of Aachen*, 306; *British Institution*, 117; (*Ancient Masters*), 493, 504, 525, 541; (*Copies from Ancient Masters*), 895; *Partridge's Portraits of Her Majesty and H.R.H. Prince Albert*, 227; *Lough's Ophelia*, 243; *Society of British Artists*, 244; *Society of Painters in Water-Colours*, 345; *Royal Academy*, 367, 398, (*Sculpture*), 406, 427, 443—(*Drawing*), 444—(*Architecture*), 444; *Marshall's Kineorama*, 262; *Cosmorama*, 342; *Napoleon's Second Funeral*, 262; *Italian and Flemish Gallery*, the Rubenses, 266; *Bird Gallery*, British Museum, 296; *Mr. Carey's Descend from the Cross*, 342; *Mr. Salter's Waterloo Banquet*, 342; *Groom's Tulip Show*, 370; *Mr. Haydon's Picture of the Great Anti-Slavery Meeting*, 389; *Lady Stuart's Pictures*, 389, 407; *Horticultural Fêtes*, 406, 475; *The Camden Pictures*, &c., 474; *Sale of the Lucca Collection*, 460; *Ward's Gallery of Pictures*, 461; *Sale of Mr. Chinnery's Cabinet*, 461; *Gardens of the Royal Botanic Society*, 461; *House, at the Surrey Zoological Gardens*, 475; *New Pictures in National Gallery*, 538; *The Rock Harmonicon*, 539; *M. Leonard's Dogs*, 560; *Polytechnic Institution—Dissolving Views*, 560—*Mr. Baine's Electro-Magnetic Printing Apparatus*, 592; *Falls of Niagara*, 955; *Missouri Leviathan*, 955.

Exiles of Lucerna, 338.

Fairy Bower, 189.

Faith, 76.

Falstaff, Knight on, 974.

Fancy Work Book, 426.

Farr's Medical Guide to Nice, 552.

Fawn of Springvale, by Carleton, 385.

Fellows's Discoveries in Lycia, 435, [see also pp. 858, 895].

Female Piety, Records of, by J. A. Huie, 458.

Fennell's Natural History of Foreign and British Quadrupeds, 306.

Fernandez de Alcantara, 931.

Ferrers, by P. Oliver, 954.

Fielding's Art of Engraving, 128.

Fiesco, from German of Schiller, 592.

Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland, by W. B. S. Taylor, 548, 573.

Fine Arts, Report of Committee of House of Commons, 761 [see also pp. 764, 782].

Fine Arts with Religion, Drummond on the Connection of, 132.

FINE ARTS—New publications:

Ackermann's Embossed Plan of London, 593; Allom and Heaphy's Mount Egmont, 928.

Barnard's Park Trees and Rustic Scenes, 593; Bartlett's Canadian Scenery, 593, 939; Bartlett's Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland, 593, 939; Bentley and Morrison's Views in Guiana, 597; Brown's Philip and Mary, after More, 593; Browne's York Cathedral, 593, 939; Burnett's Trial of Charles the First, 593; Butler's South African Sketches, 718.

Cater's Port of Corfu, 593; Cooke and Sands' Views of the Coliseum, 717; Cotton and Aubrey's New Tale of a Tub, 97; Cousine's Pets, after E. Landseer, 593; Cope's Illustrations to Don Quixote, 930.

Dent's Mr. Blagden, after Bridgeford, 173; The Deserted Village, by the Etching Club, 891; Di. Keon's Col. Sykes, 719; Dollman and Hawkins's Restorations of Vicar's Close, 593; Dox's Cavalier, after Pickersgill, 173; Duncan's Niger Expedition, after Walter, 493.

Engravings after the best Pictures of the Ancient Masters, 593; *Espania Artistica*, 933.

Finden's Gallery of Beauty, 933; Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible, 173; Fox's Mr. Brown, after Pickersgill, 173.

Gaule's Mr. Schomburgk, after Eddis, 173.

Harvey's Scenes in America, 593; Hawkins's Hercules, after Briery, 593; Heath's Waverley Gallery, 593; Howard's Lessons on Colour, 593; Holbein's Monumental Effigies, 939; Howison's Polish Effigies, after Allan, 593; Humphrey's British Butterflies, 173, 593, 939.

FINE ARTS—continued.

Ireland and Falconer's Armoury of the Tower, 906.

Knights' Illuminated Atlas of Scripture Geography, 593.

Lane's Sir Francis Burdett, 593; Lane's Miss Kemble, 593; Lee's Classes of the Capital, 930; Le. Keu's Memorials of Cambridge, 593, 939; Lineal Drawing Copies, Drawing Copies for Elementary Instruction 173; Lithotinting, 938; London Interiors, 938; Mrs. Lowdon's Ladies' Flower Garden of Ornamental Plants, 173, 593, 939; Lupton's Fawcett, after Patten, 593.

Martin's 'Sadak', 997; M'Innes's Portrait of Wordsworth, after Gillies, 936.

Nicholl's Towns and Cities of Scotland, 173.

Outlines to Montgomery's 'Woman', 990.

Parker's Historical and Descriptive Atlas of Scripture Geography, 593.

Raffaelsque Engravings, 750; Ryall's Princess Royal, after Rose, 998.

Sargent's Illustrations of Shakespeare, 930; Sargent's Charles in the Guard-Room, after Delacroix, 933; Shaw's Dresses and Decorations, 173, 593; Shaw's Encyclopædia of Ornament, 173, 593; Silson's Illustrations to 'Humphrey's Clock', 897.

Waller's Ornamental Brasses, 593; Walton's Views in Afghanistan, 593; Wyld's Maps and Plans of Movements of British Army, 593.

Finn's Sephardim, 226.

Fitzgerald on Impediments to Knowledge, 463.

Floury's Memoirs of the French Stage, 256, 280.

Flies in Amber, 692.

Follen's Poems, 403.

Forbes's British Starfishes, 306, 663.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:—*Munich*, 170, 911.

Hobart Town (Letter from Sir J. Franklin) 294. *Munich* (the Arts in Munich) 294, 339, 365, 386. *Madrid*, 95, 243. *Steamer Bernice near A'den* (Letter from Mr. Calcutt), 323. *Vienna*, 405. *Berlin*, 507. *Prussia*, 522. *Munich*, 539. *The Chateau of Tanlay*, 658. (From H. F. C.) *Frankfort*, 733. *Heidelberg*, 747. *Venice*, 770. *Milan*, 811. (Letter from Mr. D'Abbadie) *A'den*, 54, 58, 190. *Tadjourah*, 778, 795, 812. *Barbarah*, 831. *Clermont-Ferrand*, 829. *Ellipchop*, the Thugs of India (from Capt. Meadows Taylor), 856. *Bourges*, 894.

Forester's Offering, by Spencer T. Hall, 85.

Forester's Elements of Algebra, 170.

Fowler's Three Years in Persia, 423.

Fragments of Italy, &c., by Rev. T. White, 872.

France, Conspicuous Living Characters of, 552.

— in 1830, by Raikes, 302.

— Western Summerin, by T. A. Trollope, 501, 532.

Francis' Physical and Fossil Geology, 364.

Freemasonry, Oliver's History of, 438.

French School Books—Histoire d'Angleterre, by Roche, 364; Bodin's History of France, 364; Leçons faciles sur l'Evidence du Christianisme, 531; Aird's Grammar, 740.

Fresco Painting, by C. R. Eastlake, 764, [see also pp. 761, 782].

Frithiof, the Saga of, translated by Baker, 426.

Fyfe on Coals, 364, [see also pp. 188, 834].

Gardner's Memoirs of Christian Females, 458.

Garret, Order of the Beltz's Memorials of, 614, 659.

Genesis, Notes on, 763.

Genius, by W. Harper, 592.

Geology. Brief Treatise on, by Biblicus Delvius, 443.

— as a Science, by J. Rooke, 443.

— of North America, by Dr. Daubeny, 521.

— Physical and Fossil by Francis, 364.

Geological Sketches, &c., by Charles Clay, 364.

— by M. Hack, 338.

Gerard's Account of Koonawur, 867.

Gerard and Tourrier's Universal Demography, 531.

German Literature, by Menzel trans. by Gordon, 187.

— People. Poetry of, ed. by O. L. B. Wolff, 394.

— Prose Writers. Austin's Fragments from, 494.

Germany, Western Traditions of, by Capt. Knox, 520.

Gideon Giles, by T. Miller, 260.

Gipsy King, by R. Howitt, 85.

Gisquet's Memoirs, by Himself, 10, 32.

Glaciers, A Residence on, 556.

Gleig's Life of Warren Hastings, 3; *Letter, with Comments*, 49; Vol. III. 125.

Glenullyn, or the Son of the Attainted, 520.

Glory and Shame of England, by C. E. Lester, 947.

Goethe's Works Complete, 306.

Golden Rules in Verse, by Mrs. Wolferstan, 931.

Goodman on the Eucharist, 539.

Gore's Dacre of the South, 13; Greville, 93.

Gosse's Canadian Naturalist, 260.

GOSSIP: [the more important paragraphs only are here specified.]

English—Mr. J. Galt and Lady C. Bury—Mr. Schomburgk's Expedition, 15, [see also p. 700, 935]. Mr. Baily's Statue of Sir R. Peel, 15. Duke of Norfolk and Lord Francis Egerton's Numismence, 16. School for Design in Spitalfields, 36. Monument to Mrs. Barbauld, 53. New Statues, &c.—School for Design, 76. Standish Pictures, 76, 115. Association for the Advancement of the Fine Arts, 93. New Post Office Envelope—New Coinage, 115. British Institution—Letter from Mr. Willshire, 134. Mr. Loudon and the Morning Chronicle, 136. Chemical Society—University College, 171. Telford Premiums at Institution of Civil Engineers, 191, 246. Yearly's Cure for Stammering, 141, 211, 227. Wolfe's 'Not a Dream'—Burns's Appointment, 243. Galsburgh's Pictures, 262, 292. Mr. Hume's Motion—New Statues, 303. Glasgow Wellington

Impediments to Knowledge, Essay on, by Rev. W. Fitzgerald, 468
 Incidents of Travel in Central America, by Stephens, 574, 589, 616, 641, [see also p. 794]
 India, British, by Mill, with Notes by Wilson, 3
 — Manners and Customs of Society in, by Mrs. Clemons, 692
 — Mountstuart Elphinstone's History of, 235
 — Notes on, by Col. Sykes, 727
 — Society in, 256
 — Three Months' March in, 75
 Indians, North American, Catlin's Letters and Notes on, 755, 792
 Indus, Army of, Hough's Narrative of March, &c., 451
 Inez di Castro, by F. S. Skelton, 746
 Initiation, Oliver's History of, 458
 Insects, Newman's Introduction to the History of, 893
 Ireland, by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, 275
 Iron and Steel, by Mushet, 994
 Iron Trade, by H. Scrivenor, 723
 Isaacson's Alice, 713
 Isidora, 662
 Island Spectres, The, 76
 Italy and the Italian Islands, by W. Spalding, 455
 — by L. Mariotti, 531
 — Letters to a Younger Sister, by Catharine Taylor, 520

 Jackson's What to Observe, 539
 Jacquerie, by G. P. R. James, 970
 Jairrah, by Lady E. S. Wortley, 14
 James's Ancient Regime, 539
 — — — Cœur de Lion, 965
 — — — Corse de Leon, 188
 — — — Jacquerie, 970
 James Hathfield, 555
 Jameson's New Zealand, 927
 Japanese, Manners and Customs of the, 238
 Jem Bunt, 954
 Jesse's Summer Day at Windsor, 260
 Jews, Cockayne's Civil History of, 156
 Joan of Arc, by T. Serle, 426
 Jobson's History of French Revolution, 639
 Jocelyn's (Lord) Six Months with the Chinese Expedition, 206
 Jodrell's (Sir R. P.) Dover, Ancient and Modern, 521
 Johns' Schoolfellows, 94
 Johnson's Hitopadesa, 855
 — — — Philosophic Nuts, 468
 — — — Pilgrimages to the Spas, 253; Letter from, 310
 Jones's General Outline of the Animal Kingdom, 338
 — — — on Character of Welsh as a Nation, 829
 Jonson's Recollections and Miscellaneous Poems, 188
 Joseph Rushbrook, 591
 Joys of Heaven, by a Layman, 619
 Junius, a Letter, 260

 Kane's Elements of Chemistry, 210
 Kennedy's Republic of Texas, 307, [see also p. 561]
 Kentish Coronal, edited by Adams, 283
 Kidd's Illustrations of Symbols, Philosophy, Antiquities, &c. of the Chinese, 743
 Kilvert's Selection from Bp. Warburton's Papers, 219
 Kirauea, Volcano of, 116, 261, 764
 Kissengen, Bailing's Description of, 762
 Kitto's Pictorial Palestine, 776
 Knitting and Netting-Book, 426
 Knox's Traditions of Western Germany, 520
 Koonawur, Gerard's Account of, 867

 Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 94
 Laffage (Madame), Memoirs of, by Herself, 611, 635, 662, 729, 773
 Lancashire, Butterworth's Statistical Sketch of, 364
 Last Days of Mary Stuart, 303
 Last King of Ulster, 579
 Latin School Books: College Entrance and School Virgil, 663; Edwards and Cross's Oral Exercises, 219; Ramsey's Elegiac Extracts from Tibullus and Ovid, 170
 Lay's Chinese as they are, 351
 Laycock on Nervous Diseases of Women, 338
 Leacock's Practical Treatise on Railways, 483
 Lee on Stammering, Squinting, &c., 552
 Lee's Memoranda on France, Italy, and Germany, 591
 — — — Principal Baths of Germany, 35
 Legends of Many Lands, 855
 L. E. L., Blanchard's Life and Literary Remains of, 421, [see also p. 15]
 Lennox's (Lord W.) Compton Audley, 260
 Lester's Glory and Shame of England, 947
 Letters, a Collection of, Illustrative of the Progress of Science in England, 588
 — — — from Abroad to Kindred at Home, by Miss Sedgwick, 516, 537
 Liber Landavensis, transl. by Rev. W. J. Rees, 487
 Life Contingencies, by P. Hardy, 210
 Light, Shade, and Colour, Exercises for Children, 155
 Literary Fund Society, 240, [see also pp. 134, 389]

Little Wife and Baronet's Daughters, by Mrs. Grey, 505
 Lockhart's Ancient Spanish Ballads, 325
 Lombardy, Austria, &c., Barrow's Tour in, 618
 London, 689
 — as it is, by A. Mahon, 893
 Longbeard, Lord of London, by C. Mackay, 31
 Long's Moral Nature of Man, 954
 Lorimer's Hist. of Protestant Church in France, 364
 Lost Brooch, 994
 Loudon's Ladies' Companion to Flower-Garden, 226
 Love-Match, The, 426
 Lover, The, and the Husband, &c., edited by Mrs. Gore, 591
 Lowell Offering, The, 658
 Low's Illustr. of Breeds of Domestic Animals, 473
 Lubbock on the Heat of Vapour, 132
 — Theory of the Moon, 618
 Ludlow and the Lords Marchers, Documents connected with, 207
 Lycia, Fellows's Discoveries in, 435, [see also pp. 858, 895]
 Lynn's Sermons, 333

Mahan's Course of Civil Engineering, 987
 M'Crie (Dr.), the Miscellaneous Writings of, 458
 M'Crie's Sketches of Scottish Church History, 893
 M'Gaughey's Lectures in Natural Philosophy, 170
 Macgillivray's Manual of British Ornithology, (Land Birds), 663
 Mackay's Longbeard, Lord of London, 31
 — Memoirs of Popular Delusions, 848, 887
 Macnamara's Peace, 972
 Madden's Life of Mohammed Ali, and Egypt and Mohammed Ali, 155
 Madeira Illustrated, by Andrew Picken, 467
 Mahon's London as it is, 893
 Mangin's Parlour Window, 322
 Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, 547, 577, 759
 Mariotti's Italy, 531
 Marryat's Poor Jack, 29; Joseph Rushbrook, 591
 Marrying Man, by Author of 'Cousin Geoffrey,' 404
 Martineau's The Peasant and the Prince, 714
 — Settlers at Home, 226
 Martin's History of Soissons, 571
 Martyrs of Science, The, by Sir D. Brewster, 183
 Mathematical Books: Appendix to New Supplement to Euclid, 556; Elementary Geometry, Difficulties of, by Newman—Logarithmic Tables, by Riddle, 663; Maslen's Decimal System of Money, 618—Moon, Lubbock's Theory of, 618; New Supplement to Euclid's Geometry, 226; Mathematical Dissertations, by J. R. Young, 158
 Maunders's Scientific and Literary Treasury, 170
 Maxwell's Run through the United States, 855
 Mechanics' Institutes, Reports of, 893
 Mechanics, New Treatise on, 384

Medical Books: Cyclopædia of Anatomy, by Dr. Todd, 280; Dictionary of Practical Medicine, by J. Copeland, 280; Ear, Pichler on, 290; Gout, by J. Parkin, 552; Lunatic Asylum, Montrose, Poole's Memoranda, 280; Materia Medica, Elements of, by J. Pereira, 280; Nice, Medical Guide to, by Dr. Farr, 552; Outlines of Comparative Anatomy, by Grant, 280; Physiology, Elements of, by Wagner, trans. by Willis, 280; Spine, Amersbury on Deformities of, 280; Spine, Tuxon on Curvature of, 279; Stammering and Squinting, &c., by Lee, 553; Water-Brush, a Treatise on, by Dr. West, 552; Women, Nervous Diseases of, by Dr. Laycock, 338
 Memoranda on France, Italy, and Germany, by E. Lee, 591
 Menzel's German Literature, by Gordon, 187
 Merivale's Colonization and Colonies, 663
 Merrie England in the Olden Time, by G. Daniel, 989
 Meteorological Journal for Dec. 1840, 35; Jan. 1841, 133; Feb. 189; March, 261; April, 365; May, 438; June, 506; July, 693; August, 661; Sept. 763; Oct. 856; Nov. 973
 Meteorological Observations made for 25 successive hours, by Mr. J. D. Robertson, beginning 6 A.M., Dec. 21st, 1840, 14; March 22nd, 1841, 242; June 21st, 490; Sept. 21st, 747
 Meteorologists, Notice to, 716, [see also p. 995, with a diagram—Bird's paper]
 Michel's Henry of Monmouth, 133
 Middle Ages, De Michel's Manual of, by Jones, 521
 Mid-Lothian and East Lothian Coalfields, by Milne, 280
 Midsummer Night's Dream, Introduction to, by J. O. Halliwell, 420
 Miles's Epitome of Naval Service of England, 640
 Miller's Gideon Giles, 260
 Millingen's History of Duelling, 333
 Mills's Old English Gentleman, 853
 Milne on Mid-Lothian and East-Lothian Coalfields, 280
 Ministry of Angels, by T. Hankinson, 241
 Mirza, The, by James Morier, 909

MISCELLANEA: [Such paragraphs only as have a permanent interest are referred to.]

Preservation and Staining of Wood—*Parthia*, Letter from C.—Fossil Infusoria, U.S.—New Garden at Windsor—Northern Antiquities, 18.—Mortality from Small-Pox—Arsenic in the Blood—Inflammable Air from Alcohol—Improved Microscope—Reserve Bank for Dying Shawls, 36.—Analysis of Water of African Coast and Rivers.—*Copping Pictures*, Letter from Dr. Livesey 58.—Henri Mondeux, the Calculating Boy, 77.—Mode of Purifying Water—Internal Capacity of Cranium—Ancient Cypressess, 78.—Nature of Ocellated Stones of Egypt—Cochin Chinese—Method of Zincing Copper and Brass, 98.—The Lunar Eclipse—Electricity from High-Pressure Steam—Reflecting Telescope—Ice-cutting Steam-boats, 140.—Stammering, 141, 211, 227; Head of the Lagoon, 141.—Mount Ararat, 157.—Bequests to University of Oxford, 158.—Medallie Relief Engraving, 173.—Engraving upon Metals—New Discovery in Chemistry—Encroachments on the Sea, 174.—*Magnificent Public Work in the Island of Madeira*, from a Correspondent—Savings Banks—Ever-burning Flame, 195.—Fuel for Steam-Engines, 196, 230, 430.—Artesian Well at Grenelle—Dahlia Carmine, 214.—Statistics of the British Museum—Coloured Light on Flies, 230; Earthquakes—Preservation of Meat, 246.—Discovery of Island off Cape of Good Hope—Steam-Engines in Belgium—Temperance Societies in India—The Tomb of the Great Captain, 267.—Ancient Temperature of China—Roman Remains—Carbonic Acid Condenser—Cloth Boats, 292.—Roman Mines in Spain, 309.—Antiquarian Discoveries in the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street, 310.—Baron Holland's Coins, 326, 342.—New Motive Power—Salzburg—Falling Stars, 330.—Electro-Magnetic Power—Balloons—Engraving in Relief by Voltaic Electricity, 413.—Gibraltar Apes, 429.—*Caroline*, 430.—*Tea Plant on Neighther Hills*, Letter from Mr. Duncan, 462.—The Punjaub—Edward Spenser, 478.—Plane Surface Printing Machine—Climate of Norway, 494.—The Archimedes—Gold Dust and Diamonds, 510.—War with China, 526.—Salting Meat—Extraordinary Phenomenon at Derby, 542.—Animals of the Chalk, 564.—Monsoons and Tides at Madras, 565.—New Oxide of Iron, 606.—Improved Method of Preparing Phosphorus, 630.—Euphrates, Expedition up, 654.—Discovery of a Human Skeleton—Fowler's Calculating Machine, 700; Letter from W. D. C. on, 734.—A Cast Iron Lighthouse, 766.—Marlowe and Shakespeare—Australian and Polynesian Islands, 782.—New Musical Instrument—*Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, Letter from W. A., 790, [see also p. 781]—New Railway Signals—Metropolitan Improvements, 798.—Etruscan Antiquities, 813.—Quarantine—Afghanistan, 814.—Mass of Jupiter—Hoarded Guineaes—Thermometrical Apparatus, 836.—Hungarian Naturalists—Mr. Francis Bauer, 860.—The King's "Knot" at Stirling, 878.—Primary Education in France—The Jews' Education in the East, 899.—Agriculture, 900.—Artesian Well—Extraordinary Talent—Mill, 939.—Meteors—Thermometers, 958

Modern Flirtations, by C. Sinclair, 892
 Mohammed Ali, by Madden, 155
 Moneyed Man, The, by Horace Smith, 223
 Moor, The, and the Loch, by J. Colquhoun, 741
 Moorcroft and Trebeck's Travels in Hindustan, 147
 Moore's Christian System Vindicated, 14
 — Poetical Works, 9, 110, 255, 441, 728
 Mora, 53
 Mora's Spanish Legends, 470
 Moral Nature of Man, by G. Long, 954
 Moray, Sketches of, by Rhind, 260
 Morgan's (Sir C. and Lady) Book without a Name, 203, 221
 Morier's Mirza, 909
 Mormon, the Book of, 251
 Mottoes, the Book of, 336
 Mushet on Iron and Steel, 994
 Music and Manners in France and Germany, by H. F. Chorley, 485, 518

MUSIC—New Publications: [only the principal works are referred to.]

Heads Choral Psalmody, 97.—*Musical Antiquarian Society*—Byrd's Mass for Five Voices, 309.—Wilbye's First Set of Madrigals; Purcell's 'Dido and Eneas,' 667; 'Chambers' Educational Course, 'Music'; Walmisley's Sacred Songs and Anthems; Loder's Sacred Songs and Ballads; Lanza's Sunday Evening Recreation; 309.—Hawker's Harmonia Sacra Familiaris; Amateur Songs; Schubert's 'Barcarolle'; Niedermeyer's 'Le Lac'; Marschan's Hand-Book for Pianoforte Players; Herz's Standard Modern Preceptor for the Pianoforte; Herz's Grand Fantasia on Schubert's Air; Duo-Ballet on Themes from 'L'Elisir,' 346.—Dr. Mendelssohn's Last Compositions; Herrmann's Waltzes, 667.—Crivelli's Art of Singing; O'Donnell's 'Elements of Elementary Music'; Mainzer's Singing for the Million; Hamilton's Introduction to Choral Singing, 835.—Jousse's Pocket Dictionary of Musical Terms; Rodwell's Catechism on Harmony; Meissner's System of Tuning; Lincoln's Organist's Anthology; Wessel & Co.'s Series of Modern Overtures, 836.—Loder's Divine Lyrics; Loder's Psalmody; Oldenbaw's Lyrical Sabara; Loder's Overture and Songs from 'The Deer-Stalkers'; Lunn's 'Gilde on'; Clare's 'My Mother's Grave'; Davison's 'Sweet Village Bells'; Smart's 'Song of Emigration'; Bendixen's 'As the Moon's Soft Splendour'; De Pontigny's Mendelssohn's 'Italian'; Pigot and Lee's Songs for the Army; Musard and Jullien's Quadrilles, 836
 My Life, by an Ex-Dissenter, 260
 Mystery, the Philosophy of, by W. C. Dendy, 453

Murchison's Silurian System, 167
 Murray's Viceroy, 35

Napoleon's First Abdication, Narrative, by Capt. St. T. Usher, 47, 71
 Napoleon, Second Funeral of, by M. A. Titmarsh, 32
 Napoleon, Tomb of, Design for, 873
 Natural History, Study of, by R. Patterson, 457
 Nautical Men, Gregory's Tables for use of, 210
 Naval Service of England, Miles's Epitome of History of, 640
 Negroland of the Arabs, by W. D. Cooley, 439
 Nestorians, by Grant, 402
 Newman's Difficulties of Elementary Geometry, 660
 — Introduction to History of Insects, 893
 Niger Expedition—The Outfit and Instruction, 54, 59, 797, News of, 859, 871, 956
 Night and Morning, by Bulwer, 45
 Normandy, Excursions in, 791
 Northamptonshire, Sepulchral Remains in, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, 827
 Nowrojee's Residence in Great Britain, 383
 Numismatic Manual, by Akerman, 260

OBITUARY: Dr. Lord, 36, 287, 428; Mr. F. H. Stoddish, Abate Scarpellini, 36; Mr. Dugald Moore, Baron Bignon, Count M. de Melito, 35; M. Barère, 76; Dr. Gilchrist, Mr. B. B. Thatcher, James Hatfield, 90; Dr. Olinthus Gregory, 116; M. François Noël, 135; Mr. Daniel Ellis, 141; Mr. Astley Cooper, 156; M. Chauveau Lagarde, Herr Gieseler, 191; M. Felix Savat, 263, 977; M. Vielh Boisselin, 307; Mr. Frederic Reynolds, 324; Mr. Thomas Barnes, 370; Mr. Barber Beaumont, 406; M. Niemcewicz, 427; Dr. David Wilkie, 459; Mrs. Mountain, 533; The Hon. T. P. Courtenay, M. C. Bourgeois, 560; M. Savary, 662; Mrs. Gould, 643; M. Monpon, 666; Mr. Theodore Hook, 667; Mr. Thomas Dibdin, M. de Candolle, 749, 976; M. Berthelin, the elder, 749; The Chevalier de Seyfried, 764; Lady Wyatt, 780; Professor Schinkel, 813; M. Audouin, 866; The Earl of Elgin, 917; Sir F. Chantrey, 933; Dr. Kirkbeck, 934; Sig. Moricchi, 935; Mr. Don, 975; M. Simon L'Huilier, 976; Dr. F. Forbes, 978; M. Dannecker, 984; M. Prayssinoux, M. Blanchet, 995

Oldbuck Obadiah, Adventures of, 810
 Old Earl, The, and his Young Wife, 591
 Old English Gentleman, by Mills, 853
 Old Forest Ranger, by Capt. Campbell, 973
 Old St. Paul's, by Ainsworth, 970
 Oliver's Histories of Initiation and Freemasonry, 458
 Ollier's Ferrers, 954
 Omnibus, by Cruikshank, 360
 Oratory, by Dr. Chowne, 926
 Oratory, The, by Lucy Barton, 715
 Oriental Musings, by Scott, 241

ORIGINAL POETRY: On seeing the Statue of the Spinning Girl, by Mrs. Sigourney, 95; Written after a Visit to the Post-Wordworth, by Mrs. Sigourney, 118; On a late Immersion, by T. H. 134; The Winter Nougay, by Mrs. Sigourney, 155; Undine, by E. L. Montagu, 190; The Approach of Spring, by E. L. Montagu, 306; A Spring Thought in the Woodlands, by E. L. Montagu, 323; The Newly Dead, by E. L. Montagu, 338; Genius, 338; Mirabeau, 366; Napoleon, 366; Mademoiselle Rachel as Camille, by H. F. C., 386; Luciole, by E. L. Montagu, 446; On Hallie's Statue of Eve listening to the Voice, by Charles Mackay, 459; in vain, by F. B. 474; The Wife, by E. L. Montagu, 507; Stanzas, by F. B., 521; The French Army, at Carnak, by F. B., 539; The Portrait of the Countess of Burlington, by M. R. Milford, 556; The Jewish Pilgrim, by F. B., 558; The Candid Wooing, by Charles Mackay, 592; Reply to, by U. B., 668; The Voice of Candia, by F. B., 619; The House of Clouds, by E. B. Barrett, 643; What hath Time taken and left, by F. B., 663; The True Poet, by E. L. Montagu, 694; Song, by Charles Mackay, 715; The Stars of Night, by F. B., 733; A Night Walk in Ardennes, by H. F. C., 733; Copan, by F. B., 794; Lessons from the Gorse, by E. B. Barrett, 810; The Child of Light, 829; The Voice of the Falling Leaves, by F. B. 856; The Burning of the Tower, by F. B., 916; The Idle Vow—The Orphan's Lot, by E. L. Montagu, 932; The Planting of the Acorns, by C. Mackay, 974

Ornithology, British, Macgillivray's Manual (of Land Birds), 663
 Orphan, The, 189
 Otter's Pastoral Addresses, 364
 Oxford Tutors, Controversy between, and Tract XC, 458
 Oxus, Wood's Journey to Source of, 179

Paice Joseph, Memorials of, by Anne Manning, 366, 387
 Farley's Wonders of Nature and Art, 973
 Palestine, Robertson's Biblical Researches in, 550
 Faria, Letters on, by E. Devrient, 382
 Parish Clerk, The, 808
 Parkin on Gout, 552
 Parlour Window, The, by E. Mangin, 322
 Patchwork, by Capt. Hall, 27, 50
 Patterson on Study of Natural History, 457
 Pauper Children, Reports on Training of, 357
 Paxton's Pocket Botanical Dictionary, 226
 Peace, by H. F. Macnamara, 972

Peacock
 Peake's
 Pearce's
 Peasant
 Peasage
 Penalty
 Percy Song
 440; So
 Charles
 land, co
 Songs of
 Pereira's
 Perkins's
 Water.
 Persia, F.
 Peter Pri
 Petrarch
 — C
 277
 Petre's A
 Phillips's
 Philosoph
 Philosoph
 M'Gau
 Photogr
 ments
 Paper
 Picken's
 Pickering
 Fictorial
 Filcher o
 Pippa Pa
 Playfair
 Pocket-
 Book—
 Literar
 story.
 Poetical
 Poole's
 of Mo
 Poor, B
 Poor Jac
 Poor La
 Poor Las
 ages,
 ployne
 Repos
 Popular
 Porcelai
 (cuts),
 Ports, A
 Poulson
 Poulter
 Pratt's
 Preston
 Priest o
 Printin
 Prohibit
 Propell
 Protest
 Prover
 Quadr
 Queen
 Rabbi
 Ashe
 Raikes
 Railroa
 ways
 May
 Condo
 Railw
 Railw
 Pocke
 way
 Reade
 Recren
 Recren
 Recue
 Reform
 tory
 Reid's
 — F
 Relic
 Remar
 Renfr
 Revol
 853
 Reyno
 Rhind
 Ritch
 River
 Robert

Peacock on University of Cambridge, 63
 Peake's Memoirs of Colman Family, 239
 Pearce's Ancient and Modern York, 619
 Peasant and the Prince, by H. Martineau, 714
 Peasage, Baronetage, and Knightage, by Dodd, 279
 Penalty of Death, 210
 Percy Society—Old Ballads, edited by J. P. Collier, 440; Songs and Ballads of the London Frontiers, &c., by Charles Mackay, 454; The Early Naval Ballads of England, collected by J. O. Halliwell, 440; The Historical Songs of Ireland, by T. Crofton Croker, 454
 Pereira's Elements of Materia Medica, 280
 Perkins's System of Warming Buildings by Hot Water, Report on, by Davies and Ryder, 715
 Persia, Fowler's Three Years in, 423
 Petrarca, Life of, by Campbell, 379, 400
 —One Hundred Sonnets, trans. by S. Wollaston, 277
 Petre's Account of New Zealand, 821
 Phillips's History of Bermondsey, 855
 Philosophic Nuts, by E. Johnson, 468
 Philosophy, Natural, for Beginners, 521
 —Natural, Lectures in, by Rev. W. J. M'Gaughey, 170
 —of Necessity, by C. Bray, 972
 Photogenic Drawing—Account of some recent improvements in Photography, by J. F. Talbot, 540; New Paper by Mr. Fox Talbot, 461
 Picken's Madeira Illustrated, 467
 Pickering's Secret Foe, 539
 —Who shall be Her? 75
 Pictorial Palestine, by J. Kitzo, 776
 Pilcher on the Ear, 280
 Pippa Passes, by Browning, 952
 Playfair Papers, The, 86
 Pocket-Books for 1842—Adcock's Engineer's Pocket-Book—Fulcher's Ladies' Memorandum Book—Guth's Literary and Scientific Register—Pawsey's Lady's Repository, 915
 Poetical Pastimes, by H. C. 931
 Poole's Memoranda respecting the Lunatic Asylum of Montrose, 280
 Poor, Bosanquet on the Rights of, 357
 Poor Jack, by Capt. Marryat, 29
 Poor Law Commissioners, Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Reports of, Instruction for Children's Employment Commissioners, Vaccination Act and Report, 71
 Popular Errors explained, &c., by J. Timbs, 13
 Porcelain Tower, The, by T. T. T. (with four woodcuts), 743
 Ports, Arsenals, and Dockyards of France, 260
 Poulson's History of Holderness, 237, 661
 Poulter's Imagination, 403
 Pratt's Drawings of Genius, 521
 Preston House of Correction, Clay's Report of, 851
 Priest of the Nile, by Mrs. Tinsley, 404
 Printing and Piracy, New Discovery, 932
 Prohibited Books, Index of, by Mendham, 30
 Propelling Ships, Byrne on the best means of, 442
 Protestant Church in France, by Lorimer, 364
 Proverb v. Proverb, or Saw and See-saw, 955
 Quadrupeds, Pennell's Natural History of, 306
 Queen's Poisoner, by Miss Costello, 403
 Rabbi Benjamin, Itinerary of, trans. and edited by A. Asher, 587
 Raikes's France in 1830, 302
 Railroads, Practical Treatise on, by N. Wood; Railways of Great Britain and Ireland, by F. Wishaw; Railways, Practical Treatise on, by Lieut. Lecount; Railway Map of Great Britain, by Bradshaw; Railway Transit, Conder's Letter; Rails, Reports on, by Prof. Barlow; Railway Blocks, Remarks on the Cheapest Distance of; Railway Annual, The; Railway Almanac, The; Railway Pocket-Book; Railway Magazine; Railway Times; Railway Guides, 483; Railway Chairs, 562
 Reade's Drama of a Life, 76
 Recreation for 1842, 973
 Recreations in Rhyme, 855
 Recueil de Voyages, &c., 587
 Reformation, History of, by J. M. d'Aubigné, 554
 —on the Continent, Waddington's History of, 301
 Reid's Catechism of Astronomy, 993
 —Philosophy of Death, 503
 Relic of the Royal George, 260
 Remarkable Places, Visits to, by W. Howitt, 968
 Renfrewshire Annual, 283
 Revolution, French, History of, by D. W. Jobson, 639
 —of 1646, Letters Illustrative of, ed. by Cary, 883, 913
 Reynolds's Robert Macaire in England, 6
 Rhénus, Memoir of, 210
 Rhind's Sketches of Moray, 260
 Ritchie's (Leitch) Wye and its Associations, 618
 Rivers, Brooks on the Navigation of, 442
 Robert Macaire in England, by Reynolds, 6

Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine, 550
 Rogers' Anti-Popery, 210
 Rollo Code of Morals, 973
 Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism, by J. Sortain, 539
 Rooke's Geology as a Science, 443
 Rossmüller on the Messianic Psalms, 829
 Rotatory Steam-Engine explained by Craig, 442
 Rudyard's (Sir Benjamin) Memoirs, ed. by Manning, 823
 Russia under Nicholas the 1st, by Capt. Sterling, 331
 Sacred Mountains and Waters Verified, by Lady S., 829
 Sand's (George) Winter in the South of Europe, 687
 Sanskrit Grammar, Introduction to, by Wilson, 855
 Schiller Explained, by Bach, 260
 Schomburgk's Views in Interior of Guiana, 112
 Schoolfellows, The, by R. Johns, 94
 Scientific and Literary Treasury, by S. Maunders, 170
 Scotland, Church of, Hetherington's History of, 458
 Scottish Church History, by Mc-Crie, 893
 Scott's Imprisonment in China, 923
 —Oriental Musings, 241
 Scraps from the Mountains, by Christabel, 242
 Scrivener's History of Iron Trade, 723
 Secret Foe, The, by Ellen Pickering, 539
 Sedgwick's Letters from abroad to Kindred at home, 516, 537
 —Stories for Young Persons, 226
 Selwood Wreath, by C. Bayly, 521
 Sephardim, by F. Finn, 226
 Serle's Joan of Arc, 426
 Settlers at Home, by Harriett Martineau, 226
 Shakespeare—Knight on Falstaff, 974
 —'s Library, 53
 —Society—Heywood's School of Abuse, 436; Ludus Convivie, ed. by J. O. Halliwell, 686; An Apology for Actors, 436
 —'Twelfth Night', the Origin of, by J. Payne Collier, 810
 —Whately's Remarks on some of the Characters of, 88
 —Will—Letter from Mr. P. Cunningham, 15
 —Autograph, 262, 428
 —'Midsummer Night's Dream', Introduction to, by Halliwell, 420
 —Lady Peshall's case, 115
 Shelley's Works, Talfourd's Speech, 869
 Sick-Room, Thomson's Domestic Management of, 188
 Siege of Granada, 715
 Silurian System, by R. I. Murchison, 167
 Sinclair's Modern Flirtations, 892
 Skelton's Inez di Castro, 746
 Slave Recently Liberated, Poems, trans. by Dr. Madden, 403
 Smith's (Horace) The Moneyed Man, 223
 SOCIETIES: [The more important papers only are referred to.]
 Royal Society—Airy on Polarity of Light—Norton on Percussion Shell—Wheatstone's Electro-Magnetic Clock, 135; Barry's Third Series of Researches in Embryology—Newbold on the Diamond Mines of Golconda—Blake on certain Inorganic Compounds—Sabine's Contributions to Terrestrial Magnetism—Hargreave on Attractions, 192; Mantell on Lower Jaw of an Iguanodon—Davy on Torpedo—Brewster on the Diamond—Howard on the Barometer in London, 307; Farquharson on the Localities affected by Hoar Frost, &c., 308; Vignolles' Present of Portrait of Sir I. Newton—Wallon's Meteorological Journal at Allenheads—Lay's Scholar's Lute among the Chinese—Mc-Cormick's Remarks on Kerguelen's Land, 445; Howard on Proportions of Prevailing Winds—Weddell's New Method of Solving Numerical Equations—Bowman's Note on Contraction of Muscles—Franz's Memoir of a Gentleman Born Blind—Mantell on the Fossil Remains of Turtles, 476; Brewster on Compensations of Polarized Light—Toynbee on Animal Tissues, 477; Talbot's Account of some Recent Improvements in Photography, 540; Anniversary Meeting, List of Council, &c., 935; Notices of Deceased Fellows, 976
 Geographical Society—On the River San Juan de Nicaragua, 55; Gardiner on Volcano of Kiluea, 116, (see also pp. 261, 764); Lynch on Surveys of the Euphrates Expedition, 116; Brampton on Frozen Soil in North America, 135; Paravey on the Kin-tou-moey, 136; Letters from Dr. Heke, 172; at Pinar, 370; from Anker, 491; News of, 790, 859; from Anguilla, 936; from Anker, 978; Streletsky on the Australian Alps, 173; Brooke on the Indian Archipelago—Walker and Caddy's Ascent of River Belize, 212; Some Account of a Race of Indians inhabiting the Isthmus of Panama—Abbott's Notes on Gilauna, 263; Letter from Mr. Layard at Karak—Mr. Eyre's Journey in Interior of Australia—Scouler on Tribes of the N.W. Coast of America, 370; Napier's Journey to Jerusalem, 406; Anniversary Meeting, 428; Roebuck's Account of Adel and Rhoo, 492; Koller's Route from Mount Sinai to Akabah, 560; Maillard's Account of Texas, 561, (see also p. 397); Letters from Martius, Viçente, Brant, De Orbesgo, Sir D. Wilkie—Rawlinson on Kandahar—Earle on Australia, 896; Gawler on the Murray (S. Australia), 935; Letter from Schomburgk from Demerara, 935, (see also pp. 15, 790); Captain Wickham on Depuch Island—Letter from Erie (Eastern Archipelago), 936; Death of Dr. Forbes, 978
 Statistical Society—Rawson on Criminal Offenders in England and Wales, 16; Barham on the Parish Registers of Tavistock, 77; Tulloch on Sickness, Mortality, &c. among Seamen and Soldiers, 157; Anniversary Meeting—Farr on Mortality of Lunatics, 264; Fletcher's Account of Corporation of London's Jurisdiction over the Thames, 344; Hill on Result of New Postage Arrangement, 410; Simmonds on Statistics of Newspapers in Various Countries, 524, (see also pp. 606, 706); Burney on Burmese Empire—Alison on Scotch System of Management of Poor, 607
 Asiatic Society—Stevenson on Marhatta Language, 36; Bahadur on Mode of Naming Hindus, 37; Cuthbert on the Pergunnah of Chota Nagpore—Malcolm's Journey betwixt Cosseir and Alexandria, 136; Indo-Bactrian Numismatology, 193; Stevenson on Baudha Vaisnavas, 229; Memoir of Dr. Lord—Stevenson on Modern Duties worshipped by Hindus in the Dekhan, 267; Wilson on Waralla and Katodis, 342; Anniversary Meeting, 409; Newbold's Visit to Mountain of the Bell, 461; Bernard's Description of *Lodicea Secliarum*, 580, 670; Macpherson on Khonds, 917; Burney on Statistics of Burmese Empire, 979
 Geological Society—Martin on Eastern and Western Chalk Denudations, 56; Sopwith on Geological Models, 138, (see also p. 834); Smith on Geology of Madeira, 138; Burr on Geology of Aden, 139; Owen on Teeth of *Labyrinthodon*, 227; on Shores of Waterford Haven—Lyell on Fresh Water Fishes of Mun-deley, 228; Hopkins on Geological Structure of the Wealden District in the Bas Boulonnais, 244; Anniversary Meeting—Gold Medal to M. Brongnart, 264; Owen on Skeleton in New Red Sandstone of Warwickshire, 281; Murchison and De Verneuil on Geology of Northern and Central Regions of Russia in Europe—Nordenskiöld on Furrowed Rocks in Finland, 696; Hall's Section, &c. from State of New York—Clarke on Geological Phenomena at Cape Town—Dawson on Erratic Boulders, S. America, 835; Sedgwick on English Series of Stratified Rocks, 936; Lyell on Coal Measures of Pennsylvania, 937; Hunt on Destruction of Praya de Victoria (Island of Terceira)—Everest on Route from Delhi to Little Thibet, 977
 Institution of Civil Engineers—Seaward on Long and Short Connecting Rods—Leslie on a Thirty-Ton Crane—Davison's Refrigerator, 269; Mando on Repairs of Menal Bridge—Cowper on Teeth of Wheels, 290; Seaward on Auxiliary Steam Power, 344; Provis on Effect of Wind on Menal Bridge, 371; Henderson on New Mode of Steering—Stevenson's Description of a Cofferdam—May on New Form of Railway Chairs, 568; Green on Arched Timber Viaducts—Mallet on Repairs of St. George's Church, Dublin, 563; Wilkinson's Historical Account of Wood-shedding for Ships, 698, (see also p. 648); Seaward on Supplementary Steam Power, 660; Lomax on an Improved Mode of Faving Streets—Cubitt on Brick and Tile Arches, 700; Sibley on Roads, Rivers, and Drainage, &c.—Schaffhaeuti on a New Universal Photometer—On Explosions in Steam Boilers, 716; Clegg's Description of the Great Aqueduct at Lisbon—Stuart on Peat-Moss Sea Defences—Parker on Percussive Action of Steam, 781; Birch's Description of Stevenson's Theatre Machinery—Fyfe on Combustion of Anthracite, 834, (see also pp. 188, 354); Whitworth on Screw Threads, 834; Sopwith on Geological Models, 834, (see also p. 138)
 Astronomical Society—17; Galloway on Shooting Stars, 137; Gold Medal to Bessel—List of Officers, 212
 Herschel on a Reformation of the Nomenclature of the Constellations, 289; Glinisher on Orbit of Venus, 289; Snow on Occultation of Stars by Moon—Clarke on Bremicker's Comet, 343; Rothman's Description of Dioptric Telescope, &c., 477; Herschel on a Revision and Re-arrangement of the Constellations, 749; 936
 Institute of British Architects—Willis on the Vaulting of Architects of Middle Ages, 561; 900
 Entomological Society—17; Anniversary Meeting, 103, 429, 508, 700, 813, 980
 Ashmolean Society—Daubeny on a New Barometer—Powell on Theory of Light—Buckland on Animalcules in Limestone, 291
 Horticultural Society—96, 139, 173, 290, 308, 343, 411, 813, 839; 980
 Numismatic Society—97
 Microscopical Society—117, 477, 700, 717, 792, 835, 938
 Linnean Society—140, 193, 343, 429
 Royal Botanic Society—140
 Royal Institution—Smee on Electro-Metallurgy, 194
 Zoological Society—429
 Ornithological Society—429
 Royal Agricultural Society of England—Henslow on Diseases of Corn, 37
 Chemical Society of London—266, 429, 452, 938
 Botanical Society—266, 291, 429, 477, 835, 938
 Society of Antiquaries—Cole on the Regalia made for Charles the Second, 979
 Oriental Translation Fund—979
 Academy of Sciences (Paris)—36, 55, 135, 171, 212, 475, 798, 832, 836, 679, 900, 918, 939, 990
 BRITISH ASSOCIATION—Gossip, 166, 262, 326. Meeting of Gen. Committee—Report of Council, 979. Treasurer's Report, 690. Gen. Meeting—President's Address, 693. Soiree at Town Hall—Excursions—Sermons—Launch of the Hindostan—Soiree—Meeting of Gen. Committee—List of Grants—Treasurer's Report, 606. Saturday's Proceedings, 630
 Sec. A.—Mathematics and Physical Science—Report of Committee for Reduction of Lacaille's Stars—Reports on the Observations on Tides at Bristol and Leith—Report on Discussion of the Leith Tide Observations, 594. Report on our Deciderata in Atmospheric Knowledge, 595 (with two diagrams). Powell on Theoretical Compu-

SOCIETIES—Brit. Assoc. Sec. A. *continued.*

- Index of Refractive Indices, 596. On Refraction of Heat—
- On Certain Points of the Wave Theory of Light, 597.
- Report of Committee on Terrestrial Magnetism, 621.
- Russell's Notice Supplementary to former Report on Waves, 622. Phillips and Atkinson's Researches on Rain, 623. Hopkins's Influence of Mountains on Temperature in Winter, 624. On the Influence of Conductivity of Heat—Phillips on Temperature of York Minister, 643. Report on State of Inquiry into the Action of Media on the Solar Spectrum—Investigations on Polarized Light—Harris on Working of Whewell's Anemometer (with a diagram), 646. Report of Committee for Revising the Nomenclature of Stars—Russell's Curves, 668. Warrington on Daltonian Theory of the Pressure of Gases, 670. On the Nomenclature of the Forces of Magnetic Needles—Sylvester on Sturm's Auxiliary Functions, 669. Patent Barometer—Sea Compasses—Osler's Anemometer—Report on Observations at Inverness and Unst—Hewett's Tidal Researches (with a diagram), 676. Moseley on a Machine for calculating the Numerical Values of Definite Integrals (with a diagram), 677. Borelli's Instrument for Drawing Circles in Perspective, 673.

Spectroscopy, Chemistry and Mineralogy.—Hunt on Ferro-Cyanide, Potash. De Moieyons on Development of Electrical Force, 597. Parnell on some Instances of Restrained Chemical Action, 624. On some Subjects connected with the Sulpho-Cyanides.—Daubeny on Manures—Fowles on Cyanogen, 625. Dana on Indigo—Liebig on Crystalline Substance—Gurney on Use of Hot Water, &c.—Daubeny on Dolomitic Rocks of the Tyrol, 647. Frideaux on Modern Copper Sheathing, 648. G. C. on the Manufacture of Soda Productions of the Hydro-Cyanic Acid, 649. Bunsen on Radical of the Kakodylic Series—Lankester on Production of Sulphuretted Hydrogen, &c. &c., 673

Sec. C.—Geology and Physical Geography.—Bowman on the *Triassic Rocks of Hampshire*, 507. *Report of the Committee on Earthquakes*, Phillips on *Paleozoic Rocks*—Duckland on *Cyprides*, 509. Walker on *Geological Changes in Plymouth Sound*, 600. Bartlett on the *Post-Tertiary Formations of Cornwall and Devon*, 625. Peach on the *Fossil-Organic Remains of Cornwall*—Jordan on *Coping Fossils*—Williams on *Volcanic Products in the Neighbourhood of Plymouth*, 636. Owen on *British Fossil Reptiles*, 649. Saunders's *Section of Bristol and Bath Railway*—Strickland on *Genus Cardinia*—Moore on *Organic Remains in the Hoë*, 650. Wells's *Atlas of Geology*—Moore on *An Archaean Well*, 673. Buckland on *Brecon*—Davis on *the Great Landlevel at Axmouth*—Bellamy, &c. on *Devonian Fossils*, 674. *Phillips's Note on Fossil Crustacea*, 675.

Sac. *See Zoology and Botany*.—Gray on Geographical
 Distribution of Animals in New Holland, 600. Couch
 on Zoology of Cornwall.—Widdington on European
 Pines—Lankester on Organic Beings in Mineral Waters,
 601. Hodgkin's Report on Queries for the Use of Tra-
 vellers—Widdington on the Habits of the Eel, 627.
 Essay on Marine Invertebrates.—Stutton on Natural
 History of a Shell.—Education.—Caldwell on the
 Animal from Mexico, 628. Longchamp on Periodicity
 of Birds.—Bartlett's Comparative View of Animal and
 Vegetable Physiology, 650. Report of Skeleton Map
 Committee—How on Flora of Devon and Cornwall, 651.
 Owen on a Thylacinus.—Bellamy on the Mammals of
 Devonshire, 663.—On Two Peruvian Mummies, 675.
 On the Bones of a New Species of Man, 676. On the
 Fossils of the Pridcaux's Specimens of Copper.—Caldwell on
 Varieties of the Human Race.—Report of Committee on
 the Growth and Vitality of Seeds, 676

Sec. E.—Medical Science....602. (Letter from Dr. Butler, and Comments), 630. Solomon's Facts in History of Equinting—Butter's Remarks—Dickson's Case of Albuminous Ascites—Thomson on a pustular Disease, 651. Roupell's Report on Poisons, 676. Read on Ventilation of Ships—Square on Emphyema—Fowler on a Case of Deafness, Dumbness, and Blindness, 677

Ssc. F.—Statistics—Woolcombe on Statistics of Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Devonport—Holland on Vital Statistics of Sheffield, 692. Heywood on Polytechnic School of Paris—Porter on Loan Funds of Ireland, 628. Ryland on Income of Societies—Quetelet on Statistical Commission in Brussels, 629. Gilbert on Spade Husbandry—Lemon on Agricultural Products of Cornwall, 651. Report on State of Working Classes at Hull, 652. Neild on Income and Expenditure of Certain Classes in Manchester and Duckenfield—Porter on the Monte di Piet  at Rome, 677. Quetelet on Registers—On Economic Statistics of Sheffield, 678

Esc. G.—Mechanical Science.—Lardner's Report on Railway Constants, 602. Enys on Connection between Pit-work and Steam-Engine Duty, 603. Truscott's Plan for Reeding Paddles—Reemie on Propulsion of Vessels, 629. Taylor on Floating Breakwater. Russell's Report of Committee on Forms of Vessels, 630. Capt. Couch's Chock Channels—Harder on Arnott's Stove—Wood on Railway Constants, 653. Johnson on Dartmoor Quarries, 654. Committee on Permanent Indicator for Steam-Engines, 678. On a System of Trussing for Suspension Bridges—Stuart on Plymouth Breakwater, 679.

Soissons, History of, by Martin, 571
Soldier, Costello's Adventures of, 804
Sortain's Romanism and Anglo-Catholicism, 539
Sound, Webster on Principles of, 618
South of Europe, Winter in, by George Sand, 687
Spalding's Italy and the Italian Islands, 455
Spanish Legends, by J. de Morn, 470
Spas, Johnson's Pilgrimages to the, 233, [see also
p. 310]

Spas of England (the Northern Spas), by Dr. Granville. 150

Sportsman in France, by F. Tolfrey, Esq., 169
Stable's Dives and Lazarus, 663
Stage (French), Fleury's Memoirs of, 256, 280
Stanley Thorn, by Cockton, 892
Starfishes, British, Forbes's History of, 306, 663
Stephens's Incidents of Travel in Central America,
574, 589, 616, 641, [see also p. 794]

Strickland's Alda, 189
Strickling's Russia under Nicholas the First, 331
Storm, The, and other Poems, 404
Storms, Philosophy of, by Espy, 994
Strickland's Public Works in America, 987
Student Life in Germany, by W. Howitt, 807
Summer Rambles and Winter Amusements, 189
Surrey, Hist. of, by Brayley, Britton, and Mantell, 84
Susan Hopley, 93
Swineburne's Courts of Europe at the Close of Last
Century, 181, 208, 224
Switzerland, Mountains and Lakes of, by Mrs. Bray, 74
Sword of Nath Coll, 457
Sykes's Notes on India, 727
Symons's Outlines of Popular Economy, 14

Talfourd's Speech on Trial concerning Shelley's Works, 869
Tanner's Canals and Railroads of United States, 987
Taylor's Dreaming Girl, and other Poems, 170
——— Fine Arts in Gt. Britain and Ireland, 548, 573
——— Letters from Italy to a Younger Sister, 520
——— Tinnoo Sultan, 73

— Tipoo Sultan, 73
 — Young Islanders, 972
 Temperance Intelligencer, 46
 Tennent's (J. E.) Belgium, 236
 — Copyright of Designs, 205
 Texas, Republic of, by W. Kennedy, 397, [see also
 p. 561]
 T'Hakoorine. The. by Capt. Abbott. 220

THEATRES:

Covent Garden—Harlequin and Castle of Otranto, 18. 77.
The White Milliner, 140. London Assurance, 194. [390]:
The Captain of the Watch, 195. The Embassy, 244.
Beauty and the Beast, 309, 390. Close of Season, 446.
Opening of Season, 718. She Would and She Wouldn't,
Not, 726. What will the World say?—Hear of the
1876, 736. Caught—The Old Maid, 797. Poor
Soldier, 813. Norma; Miss Kemble's debut, 890. Court-
and City—The Wrong Man, 890. Free and Easy, 913.
Charles the Twelfth, 938.
Drury Lane—Concerts d'Hiver, 37, 76, 118. Der Frei-
schütz, 229. Massaniello, 245. La Clemenza, 263.
scandalo; Herr Staudig's debut, 349. Weber's Oberon,
and Zerkow's debut, 350. Le Reine, 351.
Robert le Diable—Il Serraglio, 404. Concerts d'Eté,
667, 766. Mr. Macready's Prospectus, 782

Near Strand Theatre—621. Mr. and Mrs. Keesley's Acting,
700. Bump of Benevolence, 718. Punch, 734, 766
Haymarket—Widow Barnaby, 77. The King's Barber,
195. Close of Season, 246. Opening of Season, 309, 372.
Macbeth; Mr. C. Kean and Miss E. Tree's *debuts*—The
Philosophers of Berlin, 412. Marie Ducaengo—Mr.
Kean in *The Stranger*, 446. Bedford Castle, 478. Mr.
Kean's *Romance*, 500. The King, 543. Foreign
Affairs, 621. Mr. Placide's *Sir Peter Teazle*, 644. Mr.
Placide's *Acres*, 667. The Boarding School, 700, 718.
Riches, 734. Deaf and Dumb, 750. School of Reform;
Mr. Webster's *Tyke*, 813. Nina Sforza—The Quadroon
Slave, 860. Love Extremes, 918

Prince's Theatre—Costi fan Tutti, 118
Olympic—Lost and Won, 372. Sixteen String Jack, 899
English Opera House—Balfe's Keolanthe; Madame Balfe
 and Miss Gould's *débuts*—Betty; Miss Howard's *début*,
 213. The Matrimonial Ladder, 263. Barnaby Rudge
 —A Lady and Gentleman in a Peculiarly Perplexing
 Predicament, 621. Martinuzzi, 644. The Cloak and
 the Bonnet; Figaro, 667, 700. Enjoyment, 718. Pug,
 734. *Promenade Concerts*, 766

Her Majesty's Theatre—Gili Orzi; Madame Viardot-Garcia—Miss Nunn's *début*, 213. Le Diable Amoureux; Madame Guy-Stephan, 229. Il Tancrèdi; Madame Persiani—Sig. Flavio's *début*, 245. Beatrice di Tenda; Signora Granchi and Sig. De Bassini's *débuts*, 266. Norma—Lucia di Lammermoor, 325. Il Matrimonio Segreto, 372. La Straniera; Mdlle. Löwe's *début*, 389. Mdlle. Cerito's *début*, 411. Don Giovanni; Mdlle. L. de S. F. 412.

Löwe's *Donna Elvira*, 428. Fausta, 445. Semiramide, 477. La Sylphide, 478. Roberto Devereux; Taglion's Re-appearance, 510. La Cenerentola, 526. Il Barbiere—La Magie Amoureuse, 564. Lucrezia Borgia—Il Turco, 580. Marino Faliero—Mdlle. Cerito, 620. Close of Season—Rubini's Last Night, 644. Mr. Balfe's Benefit, 750.

Adelphi Theatre—Die Hexen am Rhein, 782. Ten Thousand a Year, 899
French Plays—Andromaque; Mlle. Rachel's *début*, 369. Bajazet; her *Roxane*, 429. Cinna; her *Emilie*, 526
Sadler's Wells—Jack Ketch, 899
Victoria Theatre—Susan Hopley, 899
Surrey Theatre—Coriolanus—Romeo and Juliet, 899

Thirst for Gold, by H. D. Burdon, 94
Thomson's (Dr. T.) Domestic Management of the Sick Room, 188
Timbs's Popular Errors explained, 13
Tinsley's Priest of the Nile, 404
Tippoo Sulstaun, by Capt. Taylor, 73

Tiresh Lo Yayin, 855
Titmarsh's Comic Tales and Sketches, 385
Tolfrey's Sportsman in France, 169
Tory Baronet, The, 555
Tower of London, by W. H. Ainsworth, 13
Trade and Commerce, Handbook of, 94
Trade and Service, Guides to, 189
Trollope's Blue Belles of England, 972
—— Charles Chesterfield, 740
—— (T.) Summer in Western France, 501, 532

Trustee, *The*, 404
Tullie's Siege of Carlisle, 954
Turkey in Europe, by Ami Boué, 299, 320
Tuson on Curvature of Spine, 279
Two Years before the Mast, 129, 152

United States, Maxwell's Run through, 855
 ——— Mechanic's and Labourer's Guide Book, 26
 Ussher's Narrative of Napoleon's First Abdication
 47. 71

Vaccination, Report on, 71
Vernon Letters, Illustrative of the Reign of William
the Third, by G. P. R. James, 43
Veterans of Chelsea Hospital, 970
Viceroy, The, by J. F. Murray, 35

Waddington's Hist. of Reformation on the Continent
301
Wagner's Elements of Physiology, Trans. by Will
280

Waldemar, surnamed Seir, 306
Wallace's Elements of Algebra, 443
Wall on Propagation of Alphabets, 727
Warburton's (Bp.) Papers, Kilvert's Selec. from, 2
Warning, The, 994
Warwick Castle, by Wilson, 53
Warwick's House of Commons, 973
Webster on the Principles of Sound, 618
Wedlock, 829
Wellington (Duke of), Selections from the Dispatch
of, by Lieut.-Col. Gurwood, 591

Welch, as a Nation, Jones on the Character, 829
Western Empire, Hist. of, by Sir R. Comyn, 683, 7
West on Water-Brash, 552
Westwood's Arcana Entomologica, 443
Whately's Remarks on some of the Characters
Shakespeare, 83
What to Observe, by J. R. Jackson, 539

White's Fragments of Italy, 872
Who shall be Heir? by E. Pickering, 75
Wickham's Blue Coat Boy's Recollections, 994
Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient
Egyptians (*with sixteen wood-cuts*), 315
Wishaw's Railways of Great Britain and Ireland, 4
Wild Flowers from the Glens, by E. L. L., 133
With's Sketches of the Mountains of the Alps, 55

Wilkie, Sir David, at Constantinople, 55
 ——— Letter from, 896
 ——— Death of, 459
 ——— Address to the Relatives of, 523
 ——— Monument to, 540, 666, 697
 Williams's Alice Russell, 972
 Williams on the Combustion of Coals, 188, [see also
 pp. 364, 834.]

Willmott's Poems, 871
Wilson's Child's Book of Facts, 994
Wilson's Introduction to Sanskrit Grammar, 853
Wilson's Warwick Castle, 53
Windsor, Jesse's Summer Day at, 260
Wolferstan's Golden Rules in Verse, 931
Wollaston's One Hundred Sonnets of Petrarch, 27

Woodward on Amusements of the World, 441
Working Classes of England and France, by Eugene
Buret, 357
World in the Year 1840, 426

Wortley's (Lady E. S.) Eva and Jairah, 14
Written Caricatures, 506
Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar,
Leigh Hunt, 7
Wye and its Associations, by L. Ritchie, 618

Yarrell's British Birds, 338, 663
 Year Book of Facts, 260
 Young's Mathematical Dissertations, 188
 Your Life, by an Ex-Dissenter, 404
*Yucatan, Ancient Ruins in, by the Chevalier Frie-
 richsthal, 794*

Zealand (New) Company, Account of Settlements,
H. W. Petre, 821
 ——— **Rambles in, by J. Bidwill, 821**
 ——— **by R. G. Jameson, 927**
 ——— **Hand-book to, 993**

Zimmermann on Countries about the Caspian a
Aral Seas, 133
Zincali. The, by Borrow, 318, 334, 362

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1841.

REVIEWS

Memoirs of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, late Governor General of India. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig. 2 vols. Bentley.

Mill's History of British India. With notes by H. H. Wilson, M.A., &c. Vols. III.—VI. Madden.

Mr. Gleig's ponderous volumes contain only a portion of the 'Memoirs' of Warren Hastings; they bring down his history to the eve of his celebrated trial, and are almost exclusively devoted to a narrative and defence of his Indian administration. Of the private history, which we usually expect in memoirs, they scarce contain a particle; from the outset of his career Hastings maintained a strict reserve even to his most intimate friends respecting his private and domestic affairs; he appears to have been proud of his lineage, but ashamed of his family; and this combination of feelings, which is not very rare in England, led him to shroud the accounts he gave of his early life in vague generalities.

No portion of our colonial history is so important in itself or so interesting in its relations to other great events, as the administration of the Indian government by Hastings. It has been eloquently assailed and vigorously defended; condemned on one side as an outrage on every principle of justice and morality, lauded on the other as a perfect system of policy and diplomacy. The controversy may indeed be protracted to "the crack of doom," for the disputants have not yet settled its preliminaries; they have studiously avoided determining how far the gain of great advantages may atone for the sacrifice of honest principles; and the balances of Leadenhall Street, substantial and tangible things, over-set the balance of Justice, which everybody knows to be a mere metaphor. This difficulty appears to have been felt by Professor Wilson, who has undertaken the defence both of Hastings and his employers, in his notes to the new edition of Mill's *British India*; like an ingenious advocate he exposes every slight error in the accuser's statement, and leaves it to be inferred that these are specimens of the whole; but when he meets with stubborn facts, he imitates the Horatian description of a good poet,—

Et que

Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit.

Mr. Gleig evinces far more courage, and in all questionable transactions sets up a rule of right and wrong, which is of the most convenient laxity; it is repeated in various forms through the volumes, but is most simply stated in the following paragraph:—

"The game of politics between nation and nation is, I am afraid, but a gambling transaction at the best. Diplomats may hide the real nature of their designs under whatever form of words they choose to select; but they are poor masters of their craft if they fail to keep the obvious truth in view, that their first duty in all transactions with foreign states is to secure some solid advantages for their own."

What are the precise rules of morality in gambling transactions we do not profess to explain, neither do we think that the jockey-club would be the best possible court of appeal in questions of national morality, but from Mr. Gleig we should have expected a different ethical standard. Let us, however, take a closer view of some of these "gambling transactions;" and in order to explain the first of those in which Hastings acted a prominent part, let us cast a glance at the cards which the players held in their hands. A brief preliminary explanation will put the reader in possession of the points of the game.

In 1756 the English sheltered in Calcutta an officer who had fled from Suraja Dowla, the Subahdar of Bengal, and refused to surrender him. Suraja advanced against the town, the governor and most of the Company's officers fled with disgraceful precipitation; those who remained were put for security into a room called the "Black Hole," which was the common English prison, and more than one hundred of them were suffocated before the morning. An army from Madras, commanded by Clive, soon recovered Calcutta, and a new treaty was formed with Suraja Dowla. In the teeth of this treaty, a plot was organized to dethrone the Subahdar, and his dignity was sold to Meer Jaffer Khan for two millions and a half sterling. Meer Jaffer was deposed for a fresh consideration offered by his son-in-law, Meer Causim, and afterwards restored for a third consideration by the English, in whose hands he was a mere puppet. On his death the Company, after some delay, obtained from the Mogul emperor the *devannee*, or sovereignty over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of paying him twenty-six lacs of rupees annually, and enabling him to recover Delhi, which had been seized by the Afghans. Several other onerous conditions were affixed to the *Devannee*, the value of which had been overrated, and "the gambling transaction" was, so to manage the game as to preserve to the English the advantage of the *Devannee*, and evade the payment of its price. Unfortunately for the Mogul emperor he held honours; in plain terms, the unhappy Shah Allum was anxious to possess something more than the titles of his ancestors, Baber and Acbar; he solicited the English to carry him in triumph to Delhi, and when they refused, he accepted the proffered aid of the Mahrattas. This step, which the Directors had in fact anticipated, was made the pretext for withholding the tribute altogether:—

"Every payment now made to the King was, in point of fact, a payment made to the Mahrattas, in whose hands he had been a mere tool which they wielded without scruple to their own uses. Moreover the King had, in more than one way, exhibited, of late, a disposition the reverse of friendly to the Company. In the first place, his attempt, through Major Morrison, to open a direct communication with the Crown of England could not be acceptable, either to the Court of Directors, or to the local authorities which represented them in India. In the next place, Mr. Hastings was not ignorant that Shah Allum had formally made over to the Mahrattas the provinces of Corah, Currah, and Allahabad, which the English had assigned to him, not for the purpose of having established there a colony of marauders, but as a territory from which he might derive some means wherewith to support the dignity of the crown. It was clear, therefore, to Mr. Hastings, that the time had come for dealing with the Mogul as with a shadow. Accordingly he made up his mind, not only to withhold the arrears which were due, and which the pressure of the famine in 1769 and 1770 had occasioned; but to refuse in future all payments, whether claimed on the ground of ancient usage, or referred to the terms of the convention of Allahabad. It does not appear that his view of the case met with any serious opposition from the members of the Supreme Council. They, like himself, felt that every saving made in the public expenditure was important; and they could not, any more than he, understand the wisdom of handing over to the King sums which would immediately be applied to their own injury, or to that of their ally the Nabob Shujah Dowlah."

Mr. Gleig's statement would lead the reader to suppose that the violation of the treaty of Allahabad by the treaty of Benares, was in a great degree caused by the urgency of the occasion, but a chronological fact appears to have escaped his attention, which somewhat alters the nature of the case. The treaty of Benares was

concluded between Mr. Hastings and the Nabob-Vizier of Oude on the 7th of September 1773, and was based on the asserted danger to which both were exposed from the position of the Mahrattas at that precise time; but there is in print a letter from the Court of Directors to their Governor of Bengal, dated the 11th of November 1768, which says, "If the emperor flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him, and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him."

This letter undoubtedly exonerates Mr. Hastings from much of the dishonour connected with this "gambling transaction," but he went beyond his instructions: he not only stopped the payment of the pension, but seized on the emperor's provinces of Corah and Allahabad, and then sold them to the Nabob-Vizier of Oude for fifty lacs of rupees. Here is the governor's own account of the matter in his letter to Sir George Colebrooke:—

"The disposal of the districts of Cora and Allahabad was the next business of my negotiations. The King having given them to the Mahrattas, we reclaimed them as the original proprietors, on the plea that they had been given to the King for his sole use, and when his property in them ceased, we had a right to dispute them with any new proprietor, especially with so dangerous a neighbour as the Mahratta state. We accordingly took possession, and it was left with me to dispose of them in such a way as should be most conformable to the Company's interests, and the rights of others. Although the King was confessedly unable to maintain them, still I wished for his concurrence in whatever plan might be adopted for their disposal. I wrote to him in pressing terms to send a person of confidence to treat on that and other affairs in which he might be concerned. He appointed a man of distinction to appear at the meeting, but afterwards recalled him, and referred me to the Vizier, and to his Naib Moncer O'Dowla, who had the government of these districts, to whom the only orders which he gave were to demand the arrears of the tribute due from Bengal, the punctual payment of it in future, and the restitution of Cora and Allahabad. Thus circumstanced, and knowing that to give up these lands to him would in reality be to give them again to the Mahrattas, our enemies, and exposing the dominions of the Vizier, our ally, which joined to them, to almost certain ruin, I resolved to assert the right of the Company to the possession of them, and to convert them to such uses as their value and the necessities of the Company required. I ceded them to the Vizier for the consideration of fifty lacs of rupees, twenty to be paid in ready money, fifteen at the expiration of one year, and fifteen at the expiration of two years from the date of the treaty (viz. the 7th of September.)"

These Mahrattas were perfect trumps in "gambling transactions."

A brief historical retrospect is necessary to explain another of these transactions connected with the treaty of Benares. When the English deposed their creature Meer Jaffer, they transferred the Subahdarship of Bengal to his son-in-law, Meer Causim. This nabob raised money enough to pay the vast sums required as purchase for his office, but he would do no more. He insisted on the servants of the Company paying the same transit duties as native merchants, and when this was refused he abolished all duties, and laid open the trade to everybody. This was regarded as a crime by the rulers of Calcutta, for it struck at the root of the monopoly of the traffic with the interior which they had just established. They resolved to depose him and to restore old Meer Jaffer, whom they had so recently set aside for his crimes and his imbecility. Meer Causim had recourse to arms; he was defeated, and sought shelter with the Nabob-Vizier of Oude, against whom war was declared for affording shelter to the fugitive. The Vizier, Shujah Dowlah, was defeated, chiefly in conse-

quence of the defection of his vassal, Bulwant Sing, the Rajah of Benares; Mr. Spencer, who was then President of Bengal, proposed to partition the kingdom of Oude, but the arrival of Lord Clive frustrated the plan; Shujah Dowlah was not only restored to his throne, but taken into close alliance with the English. When Warren Hastings assumed the government of Calcutta, that presidency was like the Asiatic monarch described by Horace—

Mancipis locuples eget aris Cappadocum rex;

there were plenty of slaves and sepoys, but an empty treasury, and the governor therefore resolved to hire out the services of the troops to the Vizier of Oude. The convenient Mahrattas again furnished a train of plausible excuses. Adjoining Oude, and bearing to it geographically and politically somewhat the same relations that Scotland did to England in the reign of Elizabeth, lay a tract of country, which had been conquered by the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe, about the end of the seventeenth century. The Rohillas were now alarmed by a threatened invasion of the Mahrattas, and proffered forty lacs of rupees to the Vizier of Oude for his assistance. Shujah Dowlah took no active measures to fulfil his engagement, but when the Mahrattas retired, he demanded the rupees, which the Rohillas of course refused. The Vizier resolved not only to enforce the payment, but to annex that country to his own, and Mr. Hastings readily seconded his views, for reasons thus stated in his letter to Mr. Sullivan:—

"The reduction of this territory would have completed the defensive line of the Vizier's dominions, and of course left us less to defend, as he subsists on our strength entirely. It would have added much to his income, in which we should have had our share. I agreed to assist him in this project on condition of his paying the Company an acknowledgment of forty lacs of rupees, and the whole expense of our troops employed by him, computed at 210,000 rupees for a brigade."

But Mr. Hastings had some doubt of the propriety of these proceedings, for when the expedition was suspended by the Nabob-Vizier, he writes thus dubiously to Mr. Sullivan:—

"I was glad to be freed from the Rohilla expedition because I was doubtful of the judgment which would have been passed upon it at home, where I see too much stress laid upon general maxims and too little attention given to the circumstances which require an exception to be made from them. Besides this, an opinion still prevails of the Vizier's great power and his treacherous designs against us, and I cannot expect that my word should be taken as a proof of their non-existence. * * On the other hand, the absence of the Mahrattas, and the weak state of the Rohillas, promised an easy conquest of them; and I own that such was my idea of the Company's distress, at home, added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses."

In a letter to Colonel Champion, who had complained of the Nabob-Vizier's misconduct, he explains the reason for the favours shown to this potentate:—

"His behaviour before and during the battle was neither a subject of surprise, nor indeed of concern. The want of personal or political courage would prove a virtue in the Vizier, regarded as a security of his fidelity towards us; and his unsteadiness, although in many respects it may prejudice the affairs in which we are mutually concerned, is as likely to prevent his attempting or executing any design which can ever materially hurt us."

The Rohilla war, which had only been postponed for a brief season, was commenced by the Nabob-Vizier in 1774, and by the superiority of the British troops was brought to a speedy conclusion. Colonel Champion, who commanded the English brigade, was heartily ashamed of his allies, who took no part in the battle, but seized all the plunder. "We have the honour of the

day," says he, "and these bandits the profit." On the other hand he speaks in the highest terms of the gallant Rohillas, and particularly of their leader Hafiz Rehmut Khan, whose Life, by his son, is one of the most interesting of the publications issued by the Oriental Translation Fund.

Never were the rights of savage conquest more abused. "The inhumanity and dishonour," says Colonel Champion, "with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used, is known over all these parts: a relation of them would swell this letter to an immense size. I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery; and my requests to the Vizier to show lenity were frequent, but as fruitless as even those advices which I almost hourly gave him, regarding the destruction of the villages, with respect to which I am now constrained to declare, that though he always promised as fairly as I could wish, yet he did not observe one of his promises, nor cease to overspread the country with flames, until three days after the fate of Hafiz Rehmut was decided." That Warren Hastings was responsible for letting "slip the dogs of war" on this unfortunate country is undeniable, and that he is further responsible for urging them on by the cry of Havock, appears from one of his letters, which seems to have escaped the notice of his biographer. In an epistle, addressed by Mr. Hastings to the Nabob-Vizier, and published in the Appendix to the Fifth Report of the House of Commons, we find the following sentence: "Should the Rohillas be guilty of a breach of their agreement (the payment of the forty lacs) we will thoroughly exterminate them, and settle your Excellency in the country; you will in that case pay the Company fifty lacs of rupees, and exempt them from the King's (Shah Allum's) tribute." Professor Wilson indeed says, that *extermination* in this passage means only "the extirpation of the power of a few Rohilla chiefs;" and quotes Hamilton's History of the Rohillas to show that not more than 18,000 families were driven from their homes by the conquerors; the gloss is contradicted by the entire tenour of the correspondence between Hastings and the Vizier, and by the rebukes addressed to Colonel Champion for his interference in behalf of the vanquished.

This second "gambling transaction" was not so much approved at home as the treatment of Shah Allum had been; for the Vizier of Oude had been no favourite with former governors, and Mr. Hastings had exposed himself to much suspicion, by sending Mr. Middleton as his confidential agent to the Vizier, and carefully concealing his communications from the rest of the Council. The English government, the parliament, and the people, began to perceive the absurdity of a trading company acting as a sovereign power, and successive administrations more or less directly sought a share in their empire:

"It is quite certain that, from the hour when the East India Company first became a great political body, the King's government ceased not to aim at the overthrow of their privileges, and the transference of the Indian patronage from the hands of the proprietors to their own. Not yet, however, were the people of England accustomed to treat chartered rights with contempt, or to consider acts of spoliation as matters which nowise concerned them; so long as the parties plundered were bodies corporate, and no more."

This allusion to the general question of corporations is sufficiently whimsical; "gambling transactions," as Mr. Gleig has facetiously denominated such matters as the breach of a solemn agreement with Shah Allum, and the unprovoked slaughter of the Rohillas, were not "chartered rights," but unchartered wrongs. The charter of 1708 was designed to create a trading

company, not a ruling body; it had been violated when the Company changed itself into a sovereign power. How far charters granted in one state of society should be preserved in a different state of society, when they fail to effect the good for which they were designed, and inflict evils which the grantors never contemplated, is a question fairly open to discussion; but dragging such a consideration into the present investigation is quite idle, for it is indifferent to the issue. Mr. Gleig, himself, subsequently admits a fact and principle, from which most men would deduce the necessity of control over the Company's proceedings. The majority of the Bengal Council, contrary to the remonstrances of Mr. Hastings, on the death of Shujah Dowlah, deprived his son and successor of the revenues of Benares; and Mr. Hastings wrote home to the Court of Directors, warning them against the moral wrong which they were about to commit: "The Court could not but admit that the Governor's notions were just, yet while indirectly censuring by such admission the proceedings of the majority, they heartily approved of the result, thus exhibiting one more proof to the many which are everywhere before us, that in popular bodies moral principle is seldom a match for self-interest."

We have neither space nor inclination to enter into the particulars of the contest between Mr. Hastings and the majority of his council, but in the course of them he wrote to Lord North, then Premier, in terms which are rather at variance with Mr. Gleig's horror of any interference with the proceedings of chartered bodies:—

"I am and have always been of opinion that, whatever form it may be necessary to give to the British dominion in India, nothing can so effectually contribute to perpetuate its duration as to bind the powers and states with whom this government may be united, in ties of direct dependence and communication with the crown. This system has been adopted with respect to the Nabob of Arcot, and, I believe, has met with national approbation. I thought it might be adopted with the same success in regard to the powers on this side of India. Their confidences would be strengthened by such a relation, which would free them from the dread of annual changes, and of the influence of individuals; and their submission, which is now the painful effort of a necessary policy, would be yielded with pride by men who glory in the external show of veneration to majesty, and even feel the respect which they profess where they entertain an idea of the power to command it."

A lamentable episode in the disputes between Mr. Hastings and his council, was the judicial murder of Nuncomar. On the 11th of March 1775, this unfortunate Hindoo preferred grave charges of corruption against the governor before the Council. On the 6th of May following he was arrested on a charge of forgery, committed five years before on another Hindoo, tried by an English judge and jury, convicted and executed. We have the account of the trial before us; we have also Sir Elijah Impey's defence when charged before the House of Lords with his share as presiding judge in the transaction, and we can come to no other conclusion than that Nuncomar's fate was determined on before he was brought to trial; but as there is not evidence to prove the complicity of Mr. Hastings in the transaction, we shall not dwell upon it further.

Let us now turn to a gambling transaction in which Mr. Hastings was the loser. Money was wanting at Calcutta to defray the expenses of the war with Hyder Aly; it was reported that Cheyt Sing, the Rajah of Benares, was rich, and as he was feudatory to the Company, requisitions were made to him for contributions, with which he was very unwilling to comply. After several payments of extraordinary aids, he turned restive, and Mr. Hastings resolved to depose him. So little did he fear Cheyt Sing's power that he

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went to Benares with a limited train and actually arrested the Rajah in his own capital. The citizens took up arms to avenge the insult; the sepoys were defeated; and had Cheyt Sing placed himself at the head of the insurgents, Mr. Hastings must have been slain or made prisoner. Fortunately the Rajah ran away; forces arrived from all sides to the relief of the Governor General; Cheyt Sing was declared a traitor, and his last fortress, Bidgegur, was besieged by Major Popham. The Rajah's mother sought shelter in the fort, and offered to surrender if her treasures and dowry should be secured. The Major consulted Mr. Hastings, who refused assent:—

"With respect to the booty," continued he in a letter, never meant to be taken for more than the unguarded communication of friend with friend, "that is rather your consideration than mine. I should be very sorry that your officers and soldiers lost any part of the reward to which they are so well entitled; but I cannot make any objections, as you must be the best judge." There can be no doubt that Mr. Hastings committed a serious error in thus dealing with a subject of such grave importance. He ought to have remembered that the lightest word which is written by one in authority passes current for all which it can be supposed to imply; and that if it shall seem to sanction, no matter how remotely, proceedings out of which profit may accrue to individuals, the individuals interested in giving to it any particular interpretation will, as a matter of course, take care so to receive it. Accordingly, Major Popham, having made himself master of the fort untrammelled by any conditions save the assurance of personal protection to the prisoners, seized with a strong hand upon all the treasure contained in it, and proceeded without delay to distribute the amount as prize-money to the troops by whom the conquest had been achieved."

This appropriation not only frustrated the hope of pecuniary relief which was expected from the supposed treasures of Cheyt Sing, but loaded the government with fresh debts, contracted for the expenses of the expedition.*

Disappointed by the widow of Bidgegur, whose treasures had been seized by Major Popham and the army, Mr. Hastings, whose animosity to widows rivalled that of the senior Weller, fixed his eyes on the Princesses of Oude, who were supposed to be very wealthy, and who were moreover protected by no fortress like Bidgegur. "The gambling transaction" with these ladies gave rise to the Begum charge, which eloquence has immortalized. The simple facts of the case may be told in a few words. The Begums were the mother and wife of Shujah Dowlah, the Nabob-Vizier of Oude, whom we have more than once mentioned: during his life they had been allowed magnificent establishments, and at his death he bequeathed them *jaghires*, or the government rent of certain districts, and a considerable portion of his treasures. Mr. Bristow, who had been appointed public resident at Oude, when the "private and confidential" agent of Mr. Hastings was superseded by the majority of council in Calcutta, sanctioned the arrangement, and negotiated a treaty between the new ruler of Oude and his mother, by which, for the consideration of fifty lacs of rupees, she was secured in the possession of the property bequeathed to her by her late husband. Rumour exaggerated the amount of the bequests to the Begums; Mr. Gleig says, that the treasure alone was estimated at two millions sterling: and though this was manifestly absurd, yet Mr. Hastings seems to have been influenced by the popular delusion respecting the amount. After his disappointment at Benares, the Governor-general had an interview with the Nabob of Oude, in which it was agreed that he should be relieved from the

expenses of the English army and residency, which in truth he was unable to support, on condition of his stripping the Begums of their jaghires and treasure, and handing over the proceeds to the Governor-general.

By a movement so honest, so prompt and high-mettled, Between "the two gamblers" these matters were settled.

Mr. Gleig calls in question the validity of Shujah Dowlah's Will: Professor Wilson takes no notice of its alleged existence, but refers to the Mohammedan law of dower as subversive of the claims of the Begums. It is however to be observed that Shujah Dowlah died in January, 1775, and that the treaty for rescuing the jaghires of the Begums was signed on the 19th of September, 1781. But we have a better answer to the legal claim of the Nabob, and that is supplied by Mr. Hastings himself. In his defence he pleaded that the Begums had forfeited their estates for treason, having participated in the rebellion of Cheyt Sing. This plea was obviously so weak when the Court of Directors had acquitted the principal, Cheyt Sing himself, of the alleged treason, that it assuredly would not have been urged if it could have been proved that the claims of the Begums to the property they possessed were from the very beginning null and void.

It now only remained to get possession of the money; an English detachment took possession of the Castle of Fyzabad, where the princesses resided, but as no one would incur the disgrace of violating the female apartments, which are deemed so sacred in the East, the treasure was not yet obtained. A new expedient was devised; two eunuchs, who were the principal agents of the princesses were seized, thrown into prison, and ordered to be kept without food until they should give up what was in their custody, and use their influence with the princesses to resign what they possessed. It is of this transaction that Mr. Gleig, a minister of the gospel of mercy, writes in the following terms:—

"The eunuchs, like the majority of their countrymen, loved money more than they loved their own persons: and stoutly held out against imprisonment and the privation of food till the uneasiness occasioned by the latter became insupportable. I really must be pardoned if I venture to characterise as something pre-eminently ridiculous and wicked, the sensibility which would strive to balance the well-merited sufferings of those usurpers against the preservation of British India. The eunuchs deserved death for having advised their mistresses in the line of crooked and unwise policy which they followed. They escaped with a little personal suffering, which was applied only so long as they refused to surrender up a portion of that wealth, the whole of which their own and their mistresses' treason had forfeited."

Professor Wilson is more modest; he does not venture to repeat the monstrous charge of treason against the unfortunate old women: he limits himself to denying that "torture" was used, and that such severities as had been employed were the acts of Englishmen. Whether starvation be properly called torture or not, is a question that the Professor may have decided any day in the halls of Oxford; but for the share of the English in starving the eunuchs into submission we have indisputable authority; that of Mr. Middleton, the confidential agent of Hastings, who had been sent to supersede Mr. Bristow as resident in Oude, on the Governor's own responsibility, and, contrary to the express commands of the Court of Directors. The following letter was addressed by the resident to the officer guarding the eunuchs on the 20th of January, 1782:—

"Sir,—When this note is delivered to you, I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, &c., agreeable to my instructions of yesterday.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON."

By the use of such efficacious means 500,000L.

had been received by the resident for the use of the Company before the 23rd of February; but a further sum of 50,000L. was demanded, and the prisoners were kept in irons until it should be paid. On the 18th of May we find the officer in charge of them, writing not to the Nabob but to Mr. Middleton, for permission to take off their irons, in consequence of their declining health. This was refused; the eunuchs were removed to Lucknow, and fresh cruelties inflicted upon them, the nature of which may be guessed from the following letter addressed to the English officer commanding their guard, by the assistant resident:—

"Sir,—The Nabob, having determined to commit corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper."

These severities failed to extort more money, and, in the following December the prisoners were released, not by the Nabob, but by the Governor-general. The letter of the commanding officer, announcing his having complied with the order for the liberation of the eunuchs, is a curiosity in its way; but we shall only quote one astounding sentence:—

"I wish you had been present at the enlargement of the prisoners. The quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."

Major Gilpin's "last trump" may be supposed to have suggested Mr. Gleig's happy phrase "gambling transactions;" we shall therefore let that gentleman tell how "the last trump" in the Begum game was played:—

"The truth is, that while Mr. Hastings and the Nabob were together at Chunar, the latter, acting on the recognised policy of all eastern chiefs, offered to the former a gift of ten lacs of rupees. Mr. Hastings was then absolutely penniless. Neither in his own escorial nor in the public treasury was there an available rupee wherewith to meet the current expenses of the hour, while the troops were all in arrears—some, and these actually engaged in suppressing Cheyt Sing's rebellion, to the extent of six months. The offer of ten lacs, even though it came in bills, was not by a man so circumstanced to be rejected, and Mr. Hastings did not scruple to avail himself of it. But he committed, at the same time, the only act throughout the whole of his political career, of which it is impossible to deny that it was, at least, injudicious. He communicated to the Court of Directors the fact of the present having been made, and while he set forth his mode of applying it to the public service, he hazarded a request that by the Court it might be given back to himself as a token of their approval of his conduct. What can I say but this? It was clearly not the act of a dishonest man—for such an one would have pocketed the money without so much as alluding to it in his communications with the India House. It was not the act of a mercenary man—for Mr. Hastings' character was the reverse of mercenary. It could not be the result of weakness—for of weakness no one will accuse him. And, which is more extraordinary still, it was a proceeding of which, almost to his dying day, he used to speak as if there could be but one opinion respecting both the justice of his claim, and the hardship of having it rejected. I am inclined to think, therefore, that he must have entertained on the subject views peculiar to himself, of which, never having heard them discussed, I can give no account."

After the modest confession in the last sentence, it would be unfair to press Mr. Gleig into further explanation of the "gambling transactions;" but some notice must be taken of the general plea urged by him and by Professor Wilson, that Warren Hastings was acquitted by the House of Lords with the tacit approbation of the British nation, in spite of the unparalleled eloquence of his accusers. We demur to the last clause: we hold that his escape was owing to

* It is but justice to the Court of Directors to state that they passed a series of resolutions severely censuring the course pursued by Mr. Hastings against Cheyt Sing.

that very eloquence,—to the folly of changing a criminal trial into an ostentatious drama. When Sheridan concluded, amid the clapping of hands, the waving of handkerchiefs, and the tumultuous applause of all parties, there was no more chance of the condemnation of Hastings than of the hanging of Macheath at the close of the 'Beggars' Opera.' A juror on the trial of Horne Tooke is said to have spoken the common sense of mankind on this subject:—"I was induced to acquit the prisoner by the Attorney General's speech, for, if a man had been really guilty of treason, it would not have taken nine hours to explain the nature of his offence."* The managers of the impeachment did what eloquent orators are very apt to do; they overstated their case, and for this the accused owed them a heavy debt of gratitude.

Had Mr. Gleig confined himself to an extenuation of his hero's conduct; had he pleaded our precarious tenure of India at the time, the example of intrigue bequeathed by preceding governors, and especially the unscrupulous policy pursued by Lord Clive in the acquisition of Bengal, we should not have made much objection. But a plea of justification for such conduct as we have described, and that urged by a minister of religion, is quite a different matter. Such moral principles as are put forth in these volumes are not to be found in the Bible, scarcely even in the Koran: when it is insinuated that measures of fraud and violence were necessary in India, it should be remembered that, if we are told "it must needs be that offences come," it is also added "woe unto him by whom the offence cometh."

It is not necessary to refute the doctrine, that "the end justifies the means," which Mr. Gleig frequently insinuates; we deny that the end was even an excuse for the means. The administration of Hastings added more than twelve millions to the public debt of India, and laid the foundation of an aggressive and expensive policy which has been ever since extending. Take even the view urged on us by Mr. Gleig and Professor Wilson—look at India itself: where are the proofs of the political advancement of its natives? Are there municipalities in its towns, houses of assembly in its provinces, or a visible sign of confidence between the governors and the governed anywhere? It is not necessary to say more: but we should bear in mind that our moral responsibilities to India are greatly increased by the mode in which we obtained its empire, and no portion of history can give a more forcible impression of the weight of obligation thus incurred than the life of Warren Hastings.

Robert Macaire in England. By G. M. Reynolds. 3 vols. Tegg.

ACCORDING to the austere philosophy, which holds every man responsible, not merely for his own sins, but for the sins of all who have been seduced into error by the contagion of his vices, the author of 'Jack Sheppard' is in great jeopardy before the tribunal of criticism, on account of the sins of Robert Macaire, which,

* The great Lord Somers took the same view of a parliamentary impeachment, and vainly laboured to dissuade the Whig ministers of his day from bringing Dr. Sacheverell to the bar of the House of Lords, instead of leaving him to the ordinary courts of law. "I think it best," said he, "to make use of the ordinary process which our laws have provided.... Order a charge to be drawn up against the offender; but still take care not to consult your passions or affections more than your dignity and usage: we are all of us liable to passion; and no man looks upon the injuries done to himself as small ones: for my own part, indeed, I look upon those which Dr. Sacheverell has done to the ministry as very great; but, in the punishment thereof, let no hatred, revenge, anger, or passion interpose: for where these take place the mind does not easily discover truth: or, if it does discern it, is not apt to embrace it; and that which would pass among others as anger only, our people would call cruelty in the government, which is odious to all men."

though they are of a much deeper dye than his own, are clearly traceable to his misleading example. Mr. Ainsworth's talents, character, and position, render him incapable of producing anything like the tissue of imbecile immoralities which have disgusted us in the perusal of these volumes; but their godfatherhood, we fear, must still lie at his door.

We admit that the sin of bringing Robert Macaire on the stage, and of mixing the most atrocious murder for the sake of robbery, with low buffoonery, and of introducing it, as it were, into the very bosom of domestic life, lies with the French; and the reproducing of the drama on the English theatre is not Mr. Ainsworth's affair. But it is not less certain that the present literary speculation is a very natural consequence of the success of 'Jack Sheppard'; and we can imagine nothing better calculated to awaken the author of that work to a full sense of the moral mistake he made, in undertaking it, than this hideous caricature of his imitator. To explain the full extent of the offence chargeable against Robert Macaire, is no easy matter: it is burnt into every page, and pervades the entire work. It is not merely the attempt to interest the reader in the crimes of a wretched felon—it is not the endeavour to raise a false and demoralizing pathos, by his sanguinary exploits, nor even the inapprehensive and matter-of-course way in which blood is spilled, without terror and without remorse,—it is the total oversight of the moral nature of man—it is the representation of characters, intended to be amiable and wise, as acting with an utter forgetfulness or disregard of right and wrong, without a particle of sense of duty, or of self-respect—without even a single remorseful struggle on the very threshold of a first crime; it is the unreal mockery of the combination of drivelling sentimentality with absurd motive; in one word, the utter sinking of the intellectual and the moral, in the mere animal, that form the gravamen of the publication. So singularly, indeed, are the moral sins of this work incorporated with its literary offences, that the incongruities of character and motive, and the impossibilities of the events, seem the necessary consequence of its ethical ignorance. If it were possible that anything could be justly inferred from a work of this class, concerning anything deserving the name of literature, it would afford a striking example of the intimate connexion which subsists between the beautiful and the honest—between literary excellence, and a knowledge and true feeling of the boundaries of moral good and evil.

We shall not waste the time of our readers in an analysis of Robert Macaire, or descant on the hopeless absurdities of a London merchant domiciliating the scampish hero and his friend into his family; suffering him to seduce his niece, and (still more improbable) to defraud him of thousands by the clumsiest contrivances; or on the impossibility of a delicately-brought-up girl deserting a youthful and attractive lover, who has already obtained a place in her affections, for the wrinkled, vulgar, and ugly felon. But to offer some sufficient notion of the sort of inapprehensiveness which runs through the work, some idea of the author's surpassing ignorance of what may be called the probabilities of morality, we will simply state, that Robert ends by becoming religious!—that, after a life stained by every crime, and by the abandonment, theoretical as well as practical, of every principle, he becomes at the last clothed with all the delicate and refined susceptibilities,—all the tenderest social affections, which experience has shown are the creatures and the reward of a life of blameless purity.

We certainly should not have recurred to this disagreeable theme, after what we have

already said, on the School, as it is whimsically called, of Newgate Literature, nor should we have selected the present volumes for even a passing notice, from any apprehension that there is much danger to be feared from the publication. Little as we think of the reigning taste for literature, we do not fear that the work will obtain a mischievous circulation. Had it indeed been published in numbers—had the filthy *ad captandum* engravings (we speak morally, and not artistically), been thrust before the public eye in every news-shop window—they might have made their impression; but we really believe there is not an individual capable of laying down, in one sum, the price of three volumes, who can be injured either in his tastes or his principles by the perusal.

It is in relation to circumstances of a more general import, that we have entered on this subject. For, as we have already said on former occasions, we believe that kindred deficiencies to those betrayed in these volumes, may be traced, in another kind and degree, in no inconsiderable portion of English society. Numerous are the works, not merely of fictitious narrative, in which, though no specific outrages on decency are to be cited, there is manifested a like absence of true moral feeling—the want of a correct sensibility to the bearings of conduct—an inapprehensiveness of ethical principle—a cool advocacy of practices radically corrupt—or, at best, an abstinence from all reprobation of things unclean and dishonest. Nor is this the worst: it is not the occasional insensibility exhibited, by authors not wholly uneducated or unrefined, to specific breaches of right, which may happen to coincide with their political, religious, or class interests, of which we principally complain. It is the general and pervading absence of generous enthusiasm, of aspirations after the high, the beautiful, and the honest—and of a hearty devotion to anything beyond self, that degrades alike the real life of Englishmen (taken in the mass), and the literature, which is of necessity its ante-type and its echo. The contemporary literature of France, stained as it is by practical immoralities, and perverse as are its aesthetic notions, is yet comparatively honest and hearty, inasmuch as it is free from hypocrisy or pretence. It is marked by a more healthful and vigorous tone than that betrayed in the solemn plausibilities, and the slip-slop moralities, which pass current with us. The works of the class of Robert Macaire, if not fair specimens of this defect in the general literature of the country, are its necessary consequences; and, in their exaggeration and caricature, they are startling expounds of the heartless and torpid moral state of the nation that can tolerate them. In themselves, they may be of small import; but, in relation to their causes, they are of a far wider concernment, than their coarse vulgarity would lead us at first sight to credit.

Recurring, then, to this unwholesome, undertoned, mawkish, and inelastic state of modern literature, and to the general mind that produces it, or delights in it,—we naturally look round in search of some means of cure, some path by which Englishmen may be brought back to think and feel with a vigour becoming the splendour of their antecedents, and the vastness of their prospects.

To retrace the bygone, is beyond the possibility of man. Nations, like individuals, can never recover the freshness of their youth, when their organization has ripened, and when elasticity has given place to maturity. But does it necessarily follow, with one as with the other, that maturity must be promptly succeeded by degradation and decay? We trust not. We do believe that humanity is not restricted to this mill-horse revolution; and in that belief look around us

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In surveying the whole field of inquiry, the first thing that suggests itself as a main cause of existing evils, is the defective state of the national education; a deficiency which is found to lie at the bottom of many other national vices, and which stands up at every turn, in all investigations of a politico-philosophic character, which have reference to English affairs.

If the profession of literature has by the force of circumstances become inevitably a trade, ready to explore all the illegitimate sources of sordid gain, without reference to their contagious impurity, if its object has become that of supplying every market which may arise, no matter how immoral or how imbecile, there remains nothing in the way of reform but to act on the markets, by raising the moral character, and, with it, the intellectual aspirations of the general public. Were it possible for that public to be made acquainted with its own deficiencies, to become aware that not only the poor, but the rich and the easy classes, stand in need of something more than mere catechetical instruction, society would work its own cure. Considering the intense rapidity of the social movement in these countries, the amount of positive crime is singularly small; and there is little noticeable defect in what may be called the domestic morality of the country, as far as concerns the sounder and more healthy middle classes. But there exists an immense deficiency in respect to the elevated and ennobling feelings, in liberality, true generosity, in the apprehension and the love of the beautiful,—in that greenwood vigour and freshness of mind, which, while it contributes so powerfully to individual contentment and happiness, predisposes a nation to do and to suffer greatly in the pursuit of great and noble objects. The legitimate purpose of education is to develop that state of mind and of heart which substitutes virtue for the decencies, religion for sectarian fanaticism, disinterested patriotism for vulgar faction, which rises above the low and sordid details of mere gain, looks to more than mere riches for wealth, and has a relish for other pleasures than those of sensual gratification. To the formation of this most desirable and truly Christian state of mind, education as it exists in Britain is wholly unavailable; nay, rather, it directly contributes to the formation of an opposite character. It engenders a pettifoggish, illiberal, selfish, and animal constitution of mind, from which nothing good, nothing grand, can rationally be expected. While men are artificially reduced to the condition of living machines, fitted only for the multiplication of material products,—while they are studiously cut off from that instruction which befits their intellectual and responsible nature, denied the privileges of their humanity, the material and commercial improvements of life can tend only to a mischievous activity—to anarchy and confusion, or to slavery and decay,—in either case, certainly to destruction.

But, not to depart from our immediate theme, while such things are, it is idle to look for any improvement in the literature of the country; and in the meantime, it is the bounden duty, as it must be the ardent desire, of every honest writer, who is not tied down to the treadmill of booksellers' literature, to proclaim the evil, and to provoke improvement. There is, perhaps, at present, a sufficient disposition towards the diffusion of education, such as it now exists; it may be, that while education retains its actual false direction, it is already spread over too vast a surface. It may be, that native, uneducated strength of mind is a safer teacher, than the blind guides which mislead. The object to be encouraged is the improvement more even than

the spread of education—the banishment of every class motive, every selfish influence, which tends to convert men into tools, and to deprive them of mental independence. Whatever may have been the design, the result of existing systems of education is the promotion of factious and sectarian interests, not the common good of the community—to shut out what are deemed dangerous truths (dangerous to parties and to sects) by putting down free inquiry, by persecuting all its manifestations, and forcing thought into the narrowest prescribed channels. This was not so in the glorious times of the great religious reformation, when men of all ranks spurned at authority unbacked by reason. The inevitable consequence of submission to the actual régime is a low level of practical morality, a prevalent adoration of expediency, and an indisposition, in real life, to act upon enlarged principle, and in literature, timidity, slavishness, and mediocrity. Manly literature can proceed only from the minds of men—free and energetic men; and to none other can such literature be intelligible.

In the meantime, it may perhaps be too much to expect from literary labourers, however independent in their circumstances, that they shall not stoop from their pride of place, to curry favour with the remunerating many. As a general proposition, it doubtless is so; but to the select few, whose inspirations are of a higher order, we would fain look for efforts more and more decided to raise the national mind, not merely by precept, but by the production of works calculated to act indirectly on the public, and to raise the character of its pleasures. In aid of a purpose so just, so necessary, criticism, too, can do much; but is not criticism itself a *particeps criminis*? Is not criticism too often party, sectarian, or even worse? When, for example, the public is deliberately recommended to apply to the work before us, in order "to gain at once amusement and instruction," the foulest suspicions must arise as to the motives of such scandalous misrepresentation. For our own parts, we have cast our bread upon the water, without much hope of an immediate return; and we shall again and again scatter the good seeds of wholesome literary truth, through the small domain over which we rule; nor shall we ever stint or spare in denouncing, more especially, those works which are calculated to debase the national character, or to give a wrong direction to the new class of readers, of whom we have recently spoken, and who must, when all is done, ever remain more or less at the mercy of a venal and unprincipled literature.

The Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar, with Biographical and Critical Notices by Leigh Hunt. Moxon.

This is a delightful volume of intrigue, plot, indelicacy, and wit; of characters drawn from fancy and from nature, in which old friends appear with new faces, and enliven us with dialogue, now natural, now artificial, always airy and for ever entertaining. Here we have the proverbial "satire and strength" of Manly Wycherley, the ceaseless pleasantry and vivacious exuberance of Congreve, Vanbrugh's never-failing stock of wit, with Farquhar's native humour and pert low dialogue. Here is a store-house to steal from, and enliven many a table where the wine-cup shines in light. The historian may have recourse to this volume for illustrations of manners and customs; the splenetic for a balm, if not a cure; and the poet for plot, language, and situation. Here, if an author's character can be read in his works, we may become acquainted with four of our best comic writers; and the lovers of the stage may associate as they read the poet's personations with their then living

representatives, Hart and Cibber, Wilks and Estcourt, with Mrs. Bracegirdle, and, as Pope has it, with "dear charming Oldfield, dead and gone." Nor is Mr. Leigh Hunt unworthy of his authors: he has a hearty relish for their writings; and, if we may judge from his introductory memoirs, a love for the individual men. He has entered into their histories with zeal—is pleasantly gossiping and communicative—and if his speculations do not always convince, they never fail to interest; while new facts attest his diligence, and render his Introduction, to the admirers of English comedy, at once agreeable and welcome.

Some attempts have been made to reduce to chronological order the dramatic works of William Wycherley. "The chronology of Wycherley's plays (said Pope to Spence), I was well acquainted with; for he has told it me over and over. 'Love in a Wood' he wrote when he was but nineteen; 'The Gentleman Dancing-master' at twenty-one; 'The Plain Dealer' at twenty-five, and 'The Country Wife' at one or two and thirty." If this was the case, the dates when they were written would be 1659, 1661, 1665, and 1671, while the presumed years of their appearance on the stage are 1672, 1673, 1677, and 1673, 'The Plain Dealer' being the last. The truth is, that 'Love in a Wood,' if written in 1659, must have been enlarged in after years, for there are two distinct references in Acts I. and III. to the Great Fire of 1666; and hence we presume the propriety of Rochester's epithet of *slow* Wycherley, which Lord Lansdowne said was untrue, and Pope denied in prose and sanctioned in verse. That it appeared on the stage after May 1669, when Pepys's Diary ends, there can be little doubt, for there is no mention of it in Pepys, who seldom missed a new play, and would surely have attended the representation of a piece, had it been acted, which was publicly countenanced by the Duchess of Cleveland, about whom he has shown at all times more than usual curiosity. The date of 'The Gentleman Dancing-master' may be ascertained, which no one has hitherto observed, from the prologue "addressed to the City newly after the Removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's Inn Fields, to their new Theatre near Salisbury Court," which would fix the date shortly after the 9th of November 1671, the opening night of the New Theatre. But the puzzle to us has always been with 'The Plain Dealer,' which is stated to have been written and acted prior to 'The Country Wife,' though, curiously enough, one of the best scenes in 'The Plain Dealer' is that where Olivia makes an attack on 'The Country Wife' as it was lately acted;—"That filthy play," as she calls it, "and its beastly author," which argues a priority of appearance for 'The Country Wife,' or an after-insertion of the whole scene. Mr. Hunt has not alluded to this difficulty, but it merits remark, and required explanation. Whilst on dates connected with Wycherley, let us mention that his marriage, which Mr. Hunt would assign to the year 1677, we would place a little later than the 18th of June 1679, the day on which the Countess of Drogheda became a widow. At first sight the Earl's death seems a very necessary event, unless the Countess made a queer second marriage, as did Wycherley himself.

In the number of our poets on whom fortune has shone more kindly than is her wont, Congreve appears to have been among the most fortunate; and to have held not "one poor office," as Swift has said, but a plurality of offices. Mr. Hunt, however, who has had an eye (not always a clear one) to the discovery of additional truths, "however small," he says, "or collateral in their interest," takes Swift "to have been in the right as to the fact of the single office," for "Congreve's receipts from his various places," he

writes, "have been usually huddled together, as though Halifax had given them all, and at once. Probably they did all come from him, or through him; but it is certain our author was not made a Commissioner of Wine Licences till the November of 1714. His richest appointment, that of Secretary for Jamaica, followed in the course of the next month; Halifax died the May ensuing." This is incorrect; for in 1711, he was, as we learn from Boyer, one of the Commissioners for Wine Licences, and in November 1714 he was made, as we gather from the same accurate chronicler of passing events, one of the Searchers of the Customs, in the room of Thomas Walker. Dates are necessary landmarks; and though, as it has been said with truth, they may be left to inferior minds, yet it is not for genius to neglect such minute particulars as have been provided for their adoption by the humble pioneers of biographical history. A trifling error in time may destroy a whole chain of reasoning; a difference of a year, suggest a new train of thought; and if dates are given, they should be given correctly, for it is not every work that will stand, like the *Lives of Johnson*, on the knowledge they exhibit of human life, in spite of all their writer's inaccuracies, and the frequent error and ill taste of his criticism; or, like *Hume's History*, upon its philosophy and language. A few dates have overthrown the famous Summary of Sir William Blackstone, in his well known paper of Addison v. Pope.

It is reasonable curiosity that prompts men to inquire into the history of works that afford them pleasure; to hear what others think of them, and to learn the story of their first reception. We could not know too much of the sale of 'Paradise Lost,' what critics at coffee-houses said, or ladies thought—if they thought at all; and with what interest should we ponder over a series of newspaper paragraphs, that told us how 'Hamlet' and 'Othello,' 'The Tempest' and 'Richard III.,' 'The Alchemist' and 'The Fox,' were received by the gallants that crowded the stage and boxes at Blackfriars, the Globe, the Curtain, or the Rose. Something of this interest extends to the plays before us; they have stood beyond their century, and are among the classic comedies of our country. Irreverence or ignorance alone will affect to slight them, while the true relisher of English wit and native humour will always admire their racy richness. We wish that Mr. Hunt had entered a little more into this subject; it is of but few of the plays, unfortunately, that there is anything to tell, but what there is should have been told; and he has missed the history of Congreve's 'Double Dealer,' as it is related by a first-rate witness:—"Congreve's *Double Dealer* is much censured," writes Dryden to Walsh, "by the greater part of the town, and is defended only by the best judges, who, you know, are commonly the fewest. Yet it gains ground daily, and has already been acted eight times. The women think he has exposed . . . , and the gentlemen are offended with him for the discovery of their follies, and the way of their intrigue under the notions of friendship to their ladies' husbands."

Among the Curiosities of Literature, D'Israeli has an entertaining chapter on the 'Ignorance of the Learned;' he might have extended his essay to instances illustrative of writers who fly to hidden sources for information, and gather little there, while they overlook the commoner and better books that would have supplied them with much of the material they had fruitlessly sought in neglected writers. Every biographer of Vanbrugh gives the history of his house,—

In shape resembling a goose pie,

and quotes the caustic and amusing verses of Swift, but all omit to tell us what Vanbrugh thought of the merriment at his expense, though told in so common a book as his *Journal* to

Stella. "I dined to-day," he writes, 7th November, 1710, "at Sir Richard Temple's, with Congreve, Vanbrugh, &c. Vanbrugh, I believe I told you, had a long quarrel with me about those verses on his house, but we were very civil and cold. Lord Marlborough used to tease him with them, which had made him angry, though he be a goodnatured fellow." Had this occurred to Mr. Hunt, we are sure it would have found a place, and received a comment, in his memoir.

Of the four authors here bound together, Farquhar is Mr. Hunt's favourite, and we agree with him, though we love Vanbrugh in his double capacity of author and architect. There is more of genuine vivacity about Farquhar, more the result of genius, than of the wick and oil that saturates the writings of the others,—Congreve especially. One is unwilling to try him by any standard, or to assign the *why* we like him: it is enough to love, for where the heart is, there will the mind be also. His life, too, is interesting; so unlike the wild career of Wycherley, or the affected gentility of Congreve; their deaths too so different! Wycherley, at a time when, if not in his grave, he was in his winding sheet, to revenge the conduct of his "d—d nephew" towards him, who refused his sanction to the sale of the estate entailed upon him, marries a kept mistress, that he may burden the property he has to leave by a widow's jointure. Congreve, to repay the honour he had derived from his intimacy with Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough, neglects his relations, who wanted many of the smaller comforts of life, and bequeaths the scrapings of his plays and places to a wealthy woman, who purchases a necklace with the sum, in remembrance of the pleasure she had found in his friendship. But poor Farquhar has nothing to leave but the two fatherless girls he consigns to Wilks, the actor, in, from the circumstances, one of the most touching letters ever written by dying man. Farquhar's plays had been the making of Wilks; and that Wilks was neglectful of the trust reposed in him, is the belief of Mr. Hunt, who is, we think, unjust throughout his work to the memory of that excellent actor. Let us inquire into this: Wilks was in Dublin when Farquhar's first play appeared in London; he could not, therefore, have acted in it, or by declining to venture in a part untried and of which the success was uncertain, have exhibited any portion of that worldly prudence of which Mr. Hunt accuses him; and, curious enough, it is pretty well ascertained that *Roebuck*, in 'Love and a Bottle,' was the character in which Wilks made his first appearance before a London audience. Through the intercession of Wilks, a benefit was obtained (25th of May, 1708,) for the poet's widow; and the following document will show that after the lapse of many years he had not forgotten Farquhar's bequest:—

GEORGE R.

Whereas on Our present Establishment of Pensions payable by you, there is inserted one annuity or yearly pension of Twenty pounds payable to Edmund Chaloner for Farquhar's Children, which said Edmund Chaloner being lately dead, Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby direct, authorize, and command you to pay the said annual pension of Twenty pounds and all arrears thereof unto Robert Wilks, of King-street, Covent-garden, for the use of the said children. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at Herrenhausen, the 9th of September, 1719, O. S., in the sixth year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

To our trusty and well-beloved

Walter Chetwynd, Esq.

Their names were Anne Margueritte and

SUNDERLAND.

J. AISLABIE.

GEO. BAILLIE.

Mary. The younger was alive in 1742, the elder in 1764, and in the receipt of her own and her sister's portion of the pension.

Farquhar's last play was 'The Strategem,' or as it is printed 'The Beaux Strategem,' of which he did not live to enjoy the full success. The story is a painful one. Farquhar's life had been a struggle against Fortune; his marriage increased the struggle, for he was in debt. It was at this time he applied to the Duke of Ormond, whose encouragement of 'The Recruiting Officer' he acknowledges, in his dedication, as a powerful help to its good fortune on the stage. The Duke advised him to sell his commission in the army, and pay his debts, and promised him a Captaincy then vacant in his own regiment. Farquhar sold his commission, but the Duke either forgot, or was unable to fulfil his promise. It was in this state of affliction that he was found, after several days' absence, by his old friend Wilks. Wilks, it is told, advised him to write, and depend altogether upon authorship for subsistence: "Is it possible," said Farquhar, starting from his chair, "that a man can write common sense who is heart-broken and without a shilling?" Wilks, with the noblest generosity, gave him twenty guineas from his own pocket. This circumstance has escaped the observation of Mr. Hunt. But to continue: 'The Strategem' was the work of six weeks, produced in ill-health—in disappointment—in want. Yet such was his reputation, that Lintot doubled (27th of January, 1706-7,) the copy-money from 15*l.*, his usual price for a play, to 30*l.*, and paid it in advance. This kindness was to little purpose. Farquhar felt the hand of death upon him before he had finished the second act, and spoke of his own life as of shorter duration than the run of his play. Nor was he wrong: 'The Strategem' appeared at the Haymarket on Saturday, 8th of March, 1707, found considerable favour, lived a third night for the author's benefit, and long enough to allow of an extra benefit on Tuesday the 29th of April. But on that day Farquhar died. Wycherley had retired from the stage before Farquhar was born, and yet Wycherley survived him.

O! why has worth so short a date?

will be the exclamation of many who read the memoirs before us.

In discovering the details of Farquhar's life, in reconciling dates, and adjusting minute events, Mr. Hunt, as we said before, has not been successful. He has made, however, an agreeable addition to our collection of Farquhar's works, and freed him from a charge of plagiarism, made by men who know more of catalogues, title-pages, and editions, than the contents of the books they talk about. But what Mr. Hunt has failed in doing, we have the means before us of assisting to adjust. Farquhar's first play was, as Mr. Hunt says, well received; but he has omitted to mention what Farquhar himself complains of in a letter to Mrs. Cockburn, that it had been scandalously abused for affronting the ladies. Collier's book was then newly out, and the ladies were alive to find fault with smaller aspersions than they had before endured. 'The Twin Rivals' appeared in 1705, says Mr. Hunt, who follows the received authorities; but how, let us ask, is this to be reconciled with the date attached to the Dedication, 23rd of December, 1702, and with the fact that the Preface speaks of its success on the stage? But, to proceed, we discover from the papers of the day, that the first night of 'The Recruiting Officer' was Monday the 8th of April, 1706, and from Lintot's account of *Copies when Purchased*, we learn the rewards that Farquhar received for his literary labours. On the 3rd of July, 1701, Lintot paid him 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, or three guineas of the then money, for his letters, (the volume en-

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itled 'Love and Business'; on the 22nd of December, 1792, (the day previous to the dedication,) he paid him 15*l.* for 'The Twin Rivals'; and on the 12th of February, 1795-6, fifteen guineas, or 15*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, for 'The Recruiting Officer.' These, in our opinion, are interesting facts in Farquhar's life; fifteen guineas was then the usual price of plays, though thirty pounds was, as we have seen, the sum paid for 'The Beaux' Strategem,' and the amount received by Dryden, in 1692, from Tonson, for his 'Cleomenes.'

But that criticism may not be altogether devoted to find out faults, we shall conclude with Mr. Hunt's characteristics of his authors:—

"Of the four dramatists of whom we have thus endeavoured to give some account, it appears to us that Wycherley was the most reflective for reflection's sake, the most terse with simplicity in his style, the most original in departing from the comedy in vogue, and adding morals to manners, and the least so with regard to plot and character; that Congreve was the wittiest, most scholarly, most highly bred, the most elaborate in his plots and language, and most pungent but least natural in his characters, and that he had the least heart; that Vanbrugh was the readiest and most straightforward, the least superfluous, the least self-reverential, mistrusting, or morbid, and therefore, with more pardon, the least scrupulous,—caring for nothing but truth (as far as he saw it) and a strong effect; and that Farquhar had the highest animal spirits, with fits of the deepest sympathy, the greatest wish to please rather than to strike, the most agreeable diversity of character, the best instinct in avoiding revolting extravagances of the time, and the happiest invention in plot and situation; and, therefore, to be pronounced, upon the whole, the truest dramatic genius, and the most likely to be of lasting popularity; as indeed he has hitherto been. He has far surpassed them all, we believe, in the number of editions; and is certainly ten times acted to their one. The 'Confederacy' upon the strength of *Brass*, and *Dick Amwell* and his mother, is the only play of Vanbrugh's that can compete, unaltered, with the quadruple duration of the 'Constant Couple,' the 'Inconstant,' the 'Recruiting Officer,' and the 'Beaux Strategem.' His 'Relapse' required to be turned into the 'Trip to Scarborough,' before his exquisite *Lord Foppington* could again be received into decent company. *Astrology* helps to pull down Congreve's 'Old Bachelor,' and tragic venom and monstrous vices his 'Double Dealer.' The 'Way of the World' is an admirable comedy, it must be confessed, especially for the sovereign airs and graces of *Millamant*; yet it is tiresome in its very ingenuity, for its maze of wit and intrigue; and it has no heart, therefore wants the very soul of pleasure. There is a bit of heart in 'Love for Love,' and nature in *Miss Prue*; and *Mesdames Froll* and *Foresight* are exquisite. The *Sailor* also, as Johnson says, 'if not very natural, is very amusing;' and in truth he is more natural than he has been thought, except in being the son of a man of fortune. Accordingly, 'Love for Love' is the only one of Congreve's plays that can be called popular. Wycherley's 'Country Wife' (the 'Country Girl' of Garrick) will be immortal in some shape or other, but cannot re-appear as herself, or at least not in her former company; and even as herself she came from Molière. The 'Constant Couple,' 'Recruiting Officer,' and 'Beaux Strategem,' are, in every respect, all Farquhar's own."

The volume, like all of the series, is well got up, and is a valuable addition to Mr. Moxon's Dramatic Library. We recommend to his notice a companion volume of Otway, Lee, Southerne, and Rowe; that we may read tragedy against comedy and comedy against tragedy, in the same way as Gray said he read poetry with prose, "taking them together like bread and cheese."

The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Vols. II. and III. Longman & Co.

The second volume of this beautifully-printed and carefully-weeded edition of the works of the modern Anacreon, contains his West Indian and American poems, his juvenile verses, and

some of the first lyrics which showed the world that a new master of rhythm and cadence had arisen, so exquisite in ear and touch, that his verses were made vocal by their own harmony before the musician began his task. To these are prefixed a few remembrances and autobiographical confessions—too few for our contentment. They contain, indeed, a page on the Falls of Niagara, (two paragraphs of which have done duty elsewhere,) and another on the Canadian Boat-song, which, he assures us, is anything but the genuine evening hymn sung at St. Anne's—giving us the rude original melody in proof. But a good part of the new preface to the second volume is made up of complacent testimonials to the author's companionable qualities, and to his correctness as a painter of nature in the West, from the officers of the *Phaeton*, Captain Basil Hall, and others. In short, though his prose has all its usual sparkle and elegance, Mr. Moore appears to us too chary of those experiences and details which gave such a charm to the Scott prefaces, and too eager to prop up his works upon the good word of others. In his third volume, we come upon ground at once more delicate and richer in anecdote; but the same disposition is no less manifest. We are first introduced to Mr. Moore's three attempts in what he calls "the stately, Juvenalian style of satire"—these being 'Corruption,' 'Intolerance,' and 'The Septic.' We have, then, the 'Twopenny Post-bag,' and many of the "satirical and humorous poems," in which the Commodus and *Celins Verus* (to draw our comparison from the author's notes) of the English Regency was shown up, with all his tastes for millinery, and ladies "fat, fair, and forty." The wit of some of these pungent essays in rhyme may last as long as our language, but many of their allusions already so completely belong to a gone-by world, that the winking dash, and the significant, solitary initial, need hardly have been retained in this edition. The dandies of the Carlton House epoch have long since joined the bucks and the macaronies and "the pretty fellows" in the limbo of Folly. This understood, we think the tone of Mr. Moore's preface to his third volume needlessly conciliating; *e. g.*—

"It would almost seem, (he says) as if the same unembittered spirit, the same freedom from all real malice with which, in most instances, this sort of squib-warfare has been waged by me, was felt in some degree, even by those who were themselves the object of it:—so generously forgiving have I, in most instances, found them. Even the high Personage against whom the earliest and perhaps most successful of my lighter missiles were launched, could refer to and quote them, as I learn from an incident mentioned in the life of Sir Walter Scott, with a degree of good-humour and playfulness which was creditable alike to his temper and good sense."

Yet, only four paragraphs further, "the stern verdict which History cannot but pronounce" upon this "good-humoured" and "sensible" man, is quoted from Lord Brougham's character in the *Edinburgh Review*, as justification for the "darkest shades and most repulsive forms" which Satire could have assumed! This is surely an inconsistency; and the whole line of argument unworthy of one bearing so high a character for integrity as the Irish melodist. His sallies were meant to sting—and sting they did. The 'Monody on Sheridan,' the lines 'On certain Reminiscences of Lord Byron,' the 'Parody of a celebrated Letter,' 'King Crack and his Idols,' were not merely good-humoured bagatelles, thrown off in 'pretty Fanny's way'—they were keen arrows, earnestly, and of sharp purpose, launched by one who found that the culverin of heavy satire did not carry far enough: that they told, our author himself bears self-complacent witness. But the reader would rather hear Mr. Moore speak than the *Athenæum*:—

"In the numerous attacks from the government press, which my volleys of small shot against the Court used to draw down upon me, it was constantly alleged, as an aggravation of my misdeeds, that I had been indebted to the Royal personage thus assailed by me for many kind and substantial services. Luckily, the list of the benefits showered upon me from that high quarter may be despatched in a few sentences. At the request of Lord Moira, one of my earliest and best friends, his Royal Highness graciously permitted me to dedicate to him my Translation of the Odes of Anacreon. I was twice, I think, admitted to the honour of dining at Carlton House; and when the Prince, on his being made Regent in 1811, gave his memorable fête, I was one of the crowd—about 1500, I believe, in number—who enjoyed the 'privilege' of being his guests on the occasion. There occur some allusions, indeed, in the *Twopenny Post Bag*, to the absurd taste displayed in the ornaments of the Royal supper table at that fête; and this violation—for such, to a certain extent, I allow it to have been—of the reverence due to the rites of the Hospitable Jove, which, whether administered by prince or peasant, ought to be sacred from such exposure, I am by no means disposed to defend. But whatever may be thought of the taste or prudence of some of these satires, there exists no longer, I apprehend, much difference of opinion respecting the character of the Royal personage against whom they were aimed. One of the first and most successful of the numerous trifles I wrote at that period, was the Parody on the Regent's celebrated Letter announcing to the world that he 'had no predilections, &c.' This very opportune squib was, at first, circulated privately; my friend, Mr. Perry, having for some time hesitated to publish it. He got some copies of it, however, printed off for me, which I sent round to several members of the Whig party; and, having to meet a number of them at dinner immediately after, found it no easy matter to keep my countenance while they were discussing among them the merits of the Parody. One of the party, I recollect, having quoted to me the following description of the state of both King and Regent at that moment,—

A straight waistcoat on him, and restrictions on me;
A more limited monarchy could not well be;
grew rather provoked with me for not enjoying the fun of the parody as much as himself."

'Corruption' is enriched with very copious notes, on which it is observed in the Preface—

"The practice which has been lately introduced into literature, of writing very long notes upon very indifferent verses, appears to me rather a happy invention; as it supplies us with a mode of turning dull poetry to account; and as horses too heavy for the saddle may yet serve well enough to draw lumber, so Poems of this kind make excellent beasts of burden, and will bear notes, though they may not bear reading."

We must now give a grave passage or two from the formal Satires, which are less known than the diamond-pointed lyrics. From 'Corruption,' with a well-judging complacency, Mr. Moore has himself picked out his hardest hit, exhibiting it with a mock-modest "Nay, by our Lady," in his preface—

As bees, on flowers alighting, cease their hum,
So, settling upon places, Whigs grow dumb.

The following passage has a stern force, into which few of those now in the field could coil up their strength:—

While kings were poor, and all those schemes unknown
Which drain the people, to enrich the throne;
Ere yet a yielding Commons had applied
Those chains of gold by which themselves are tied;
Then proud Prerogative, untaught to creep
With bribery's silent foot on Freedom's sleep,
Frankly avow'd his bold enslaving plan,
And claim'd a right from God to trample man;
But Luther's schism had too much rous'd mankind
For Hampden's truths to linger long behind;
Nor then, when king-like popes had fallen so low,
Could pope-like kings escape the levelling blow.
That ponderous sceptre (in whose place we bow
To the light talisman of influence now),
Too gross, too visible to work the spell
Which modern power performs, in fragments fell:
In fragments fall, till, patch'd and painted o'er
With fleurs-de-lys, it shone and scourged once more.

'Twas then, my friend, thy kneeling nation quaff'd
Long, long and deep, the churchman's opiate draught
Of passive, prone obedience—then took flight
All sense of man's true dignity and right;

And Britons slept so sluggish in their chain,
That Freedom's watch-voice came almost in vain;
Oh England! England! what a chance was thine,
When the last tyrant of that tyrant's lion, with of lion
Fled from his sullied crown, and left thee free, eager to see
To found thy own eternal liberty?
How nobly lie, in thine propitious hour,
Might patriot hands have raised the triple tower
Of British freedom, on a rock divine,
Which neither force could storm nor treachery mine!
But no—the luminous, the lofty plain,
Like isle of Babel, seem'd too hold for man;
The curse of jarring tongues again was given, a cloud
To thwart a work which raised men nearer heaven.
While Tories nard what Whigs had scarce begun,
While Whigs undid what Whigs themselves had done;
The hour was lost, and William, with a smile, to meadow
Saw Freedom weeping o'er the unfulfill'd pile!

Here, too, is a burst of nationality, happily no longer applicable in its full bitterness, which is as indignantly energetic as the subsequent and more familiar effusions of Phelim O'Connor in the 'Judge Correspondence':

Yes, my dear friend, wert thou but near me now,
To see how Spring lights up our Erin's brow,
Smile that shine out, unconquerably fair,
Even through the blood-marks left by C— and P— there,
Couldst thou but see what verdure paints the sod,
Which none but tyrants and their slaves have trod;
And didst thou know the spirit, kind and brave,
That wars the soul of each insulted slave, to right
Who, fired with struggling, slinks beneath his lot,
And seems by all but watchful France forgot—
Thy heart would burn—yes, even thy Peltic heart
Would learn, to think that such a blooming part
Of the world's garden, rich in nature's charms,
And fill'd with social souls and vigorous arms,
Should be the victim of that cursing crew,
To smother so godly, yes, so devilish too,
Who, arm'd at once with prayer-books and with whips,
Blood on their hands, and Scripture on their lips,
Tyrants by creed, and torturers by text,
Make this life hell, in honour of the next!
Your R— dead—lea, P—ce—great, glorious Heaven,
If I presumptuous, by my tongue forgiven,
When here I swear, by my soul's hope of rest,
Ed-rather have been born, ere man was blest,
With the pure dawn of Revelation's light,
Yes—rather plunge me back in Pagan night,
And take my chance with Socrates for bliss,
Than be the Christian of a faith like this,
Which builds on heavenly cost its earthly sway,
And in a convert mourns to lose a prey,
Which, grasping human hearts with double hold,
Like Danae's lover mixing gold and gold,
Corrupts both state and church, and makes our path
The knave and atheist's, respect both;
Which, while it deems dissenting souls to know,
Nor bliss above nor liberty below,
Adds the slave's suffering to the sinner's fear,
And let no 'scape hereafter, ticks him here!
But no—far other faith, far milder beams,
Of heavenly Justice warns the Christian's dreams,
His creed is writ on Mercy's page above,
By the pure hands of all-atoning Love;
He weeps to see almost Beligion wrong,
Round Tyranny's corpse brow her wrath divine;
And he, while round him sects and nations raise,
To the one God their varying notes of praise,
Blesses each voice, whatever its tone may be,
That serves to swell the general harmony!

This allusion to the poet's country, to whose service his life and his lyre have been devoted, leads us to mention, that the latter half of this third volume is made up of the first numbers of his Irish Melodies. It is but six years since, on the publication of the tenth and last number of the most popular union of national music with verse which has ever been offered to the world, that we spoke (*Athen. No. 350*) of Mr. Moore's characteristics as a song-writer, intimating the excessive sweetness and finish of his verses, not as an objection, but as a feature, and as a reason why they were not susceptible of the very highest order of musical illustration—that in which the sounds have an equal importance with the syllables. But as six years is something like a generation in a periodical, it is by no means certain that we may not take Vol. IV. of this new edition, in which Mr. Moore promises us the anecdote of these fascinating songs, as the text for a repetition of our homily.

Memoirs of M. Gisquet, formerly Prefect of Police.—[Mémoires, &c.] Written by Himself. 4 vols. Paris, Marchant.

THE nature of the materials at the disposal of an officer like M. Gisquet—his position at the central and moving spring of that complicated machinery, whose operations are directed to

control or counteract the eccentric action of a society like that of La Jeune France—create an expectation of more amusing pages, than these volumes afford. That expectation is increased by the dramatic stir on the surface, basking in an inner spirit, whose depths must have contained many a wild secret,—of the particular epoch (from October, 1831, to September, 1836,) during which our author was Prefect of Police. Yet it is this very circumstance,—the importance of the political events during the period in question,—which has robbed these pages of that interest in which, under ordinary circumstances, they would have been so abundant. The strange and striking incidents of that perpetual chase amid the intricacies of society, in which a centralized police, like that of Paris, is systematically engaged—the plunge into its depths and the trail through its thickets—together with the amusing contests and comic interest, which sometimes arise out of the web of its mere municipal arrangements, have here been, almost necessarily, neglected, from the higher importance of the public events in question; and volumes containing a narrative of the latter, though of value to the historian, and interest to the reader of a later time, are too early to-day by half a century. These events happened beneath our own eyes; and from their intrinsic greatness have been so followed in all their progress, and exposed in their details, that their historian, writing even from the heart of the Prefecture, has scarcely any need now to communicate. Why, then, has M. Gisquet published these volumes?—avowedly, as the *post hoc* justifications of his administration. In this view we do not condemn ourselves with them. But one obvious inconvenience will certainly arise to himself from their publication: he will have to fight his battles over again with more than one portion of the press; and will find that he has transferred into private life a contest which belonged to his office. In his own person he renews the dropped liabilities which attached to him in his character of Prefect; and brings up against the walls of his quiet home the clamour of the brazen trumpets that were blown only against the Jericho of the Prefecture. Already he is dragged before the courts, in two actions arising out of statements contained in these volumes; and if he calculated upon this book as a bed of roses for the repose of his later years, he will find not a few of its leaves crumpled, to disappoint the expectation.

M. Gisquet's volumes are introduced by an historical sketch of the Police of France, from the early days of the monarchy down to the establishment of the Prefecture, in the year VIII. of the Revolution; and an enumeration of the multiplied and important objects embraced within its field of action, as they result from the several decrees and acts constituting it,—which gives a lively notion of the troublesome elements with which it has to deal, and the many foes against whom it has to do battle. All the diseases of society it is its office to heal, all its foulnesses to cleanse, and all its offences to scourge. Objects political, and criminal, and moral, and municipal, divide its care. Not a stranger can pass into, or out of, Paris, of which the police is not supposed to be cognizant—not an *émigré* can take place at any extremity of France, which is not felt at its head. How onerous and revolting must be, at any time, the duties of its director, and how much more so in times of political excitement, is evident enough, even before reading M. Gisquet's volumes.

M. Gisquet was the architect of his own fortunes. Sprung from the ranks of the people, he made his way on foot from Vezin, in the department of the Moselle, to Paris, at the age of sixteen, to fill the place of a copying clerk in the

bank of Messrs. Perrier. There recommending himself, by zeal and capacity for business, to Casimir Perrier, he gradually rose to be the manager of the bank—and, attached by long association and many benefits, naturally enlisted under the banner of that political leader—followed him into the struggle of the Revolution—and afterwards into the more stormy one of this unfortunate statesman's administration. Of his share in these events, he speaks with modest self-assertion, as having been an active, and sometimes conspicuous, but always subordinate agent. At his house, during the struggle to acquire an influence over the elections by the party who prepared the Revolution, the electoral meetings of the Second College were held; and when his friends had acquired that influence, he was always named by them a member of the *bureau d'affaires*, by which the representatives were returned. He was one of the commissaires chosen by the several *arrondissements* to support and regulate the revolutionary combat when it had, at length, begun;—was, at the same time, appointed colonel on the military staff;—was one of the council-general named by the new government for the city of Paris;—was afterwards sent into England, by the Minister at War, to negotiate a purchase of muskets;—well known subsequently as the affair of the *Chignol muskets*; and finally, after one or two preliminary movements, settled down at the Prefecture, first as secretary-general, and afterwards as its head, under his friend Casimir Perrier. There he had scarcely time to organize his office, and establish certain municipal regulations for simplifying its duties, ere that long series of public disturbances began, which (having insurrection and civil war and regicide among their incidents) embittered the entire period of his administration. A few detached extracts will be at once the best illustration of the period, and the most agreeable contribution which the book can furnish to the entertainment of our readers.

A new system of regulations for cleansing the streets of Paris, was introduced by the municipal council, in the course of the year 1832, which gave umbrage to that respectable class of operatives, the Chiffonniers of the city, by narrowing the field of their industry, and making a serious inroad on their profits. These miners of the dust-heap accordingly revolted (revolt being the order of the day) against this sanitary encroachment upon their vested rights "to the soil,"—and rose in defence of the privilege of their order. The tumbrils of the contractor employed in carrying off the yet unsifted dust, with its hidden wealth, were assailed and burnt by troops of these ragged experimentalists; and it was during the raging of this *émeute*, that auxiliary circumstances occurred to produce a scene which takes us back at once into the dark ages, and seems altogether irreconcilable with the boasted intelligence of young, and a second time revolutionized, France.

The cholera (says our author,) was beginning to rage, and already carried off more than one hundred persons daily, in the capital. The populace, terrified at the peculiar symptoms of this fearful malady, was inclined to seek a cause for the disease independent of the disease itself; and there arose a rumour, which spread like lightning through Paris, attributing these terrible effects to poison. The masses, ready for all impressions in moments of excitement, were readily persuaded that the fountains and provisions were so tainted, by men employed for the purpose. Suddenly, whilst, in the further quarters of Paris, the mob were yet breaking and burning the scavengers' carts, immense assemblages formed on the quays, on the Place de Grève, in the faubourg Saint-Antoine, in the City, and at various other points. Thence, they invaded the streets St-Denis and St-Martin, and the *halles*; and never, perhaps, was there seen in Paris so frightful and numerous a mob,—maddened

in the dead, of prison, and rushing in search of the authors of these imaginary crimes. Every person seen with letters, papers, or small packets, became an object of insidious suspicion; and a simple *jacon* was received as convicting evidence by the delirious multitude. My agents could not be at all points at once, to stem the fury of these innumerable hosts of men, bare-armed and gaunt-visaged, such as are rarely seen save in moments like these; and which appeared, on that day, to issue forth, as it were, from beneath the pavement. Willing to judge for myself of the truth of the alarming reports which reached me, I traversed alone, on foot, and with great difficulty, these mighty masses of half-clad beings; and no words can describe their hideous appearance, or do justice to the impression of terror conveyed by their fierce and hollow murmurs. Though not easily shaken, yet, for a moment, I trembled for the city—for the lives and properties of its respectable citizens. If the popular phrensy, instead of venting itself in acts of individual atrocity, had been directed to objects of plunder and revolution, it is impossible to say what might have been the extent of the devastation. No doubt, the public authority would have triumphed, in the end,—but only by resorting to means the most energetic, and at the price of melancholy sacrifices. A young man, employed in the ministry of the Interior, a relation of M. Delorme, was massacred in the Rue St-Denis, on suspicion of having thrown poison into the vessels of a wine-merchant. Another was torn to pieces, on the same pretext, in the *Quartier des Halles*. A third victim, assassinated on the Place de Grève, was flung, dying, into the river. The mob tore, from the post at the Hôtel de Ville, whither he had fled for shelter, a wretched man, whom they slaughtered in an instant; and a person, described to me as being a coal-heaver, actually set his dog to tear to pieces the body of this murdered victim. In the village of Vaugirard, the populace pursued two men, on whom this suspicion had fallen, and who succeeded in gaining the shelter of the mayor's house. But the magistrate's abode was violated and invaded, and one of these unfortunates, a commercial traveller, mercilessly slaughtered. A similar scene, to which the same *dénouement* appeared certain, occurred in the Faubourg St-Antoine. Two imprudent persons fled, pursued by thousands of madmen, who accused them of having given a poisoned tart to some children. The victims of this charge concealed themselves within the guard-house; but it was instantly surrounded, and the massacre of the fugitives was inevitable, but for a happy inspiration, which induced the Commissary of Police, and a retired officer, who happened to be present, to break between them the tart in question, and eat it, before the eyes of the crowd. Their presence of mind converted the rage of the multitude into mirth,—so small a matter suffices, at times, to excite, or allay, the popular rage!

For his services on this occasion M. Gisquet was created a Councillor of State.

With this, as with every other popular movement in Paris, during the last ten years, M. Gisquet shows that political incitements had much to do. Where party passion had not prepared the disturbances, it failed not to take advantage of them; and it is a lamentable instance of the excesses to which it can lead, to find men defending their cause with a weapon like this, and appealing, against what they denounce as oppression, to the ignorance rather than the intelligence of the people, and its madness instead of its virtue.

Our readers will probably recollect that, at the period of this visitation, while two hundred victims were perishing daily in Paris from its attacks, the Duke of Orleans gave one of those proofs of courage and devotion of which the reigning sovereign and his house have exhibited so many, since the last revolution. While all who could, fled, subdued by terror of the dark phantom, the young prince repaired to the Hôtel-Dieu, visited and cheered the cholera-stricken, consoled the dying, and put the moral influence of his gallant example (so needed to restore that confidence which helped to "stay

the plague") "between the living and the dead." He was accompanied on this mission of mercy by Casimir Perrier; and there, that ill-fated minister inhaled the seeds of the disease which carried him, after an illness of forty days, by the dark path of mental alienation, into the darker shadow of the grave.

In the course of these volumes, M. Gisquet enters into some particulars relative to the organization of the police force, the distribution of its agents, and the amount and application of its secret funds.—Instructive enough, as exhibiting the relation between the morality and utility of its institutions, and the proportion in which the relaxation of the one involves the degradation of the other. M. Gisquet, it is true, does not draw from his premises exactly such conclusions as we should, ourselves; and makes rather a lame defence of secret agency and secret agents. But he shows, by a number of amusing examples, how liable they are themselves to be played upon, who play with the consciences of others;—and how likely a government is to be betrayed, by those whom it bribes to betray their fellow subjects. It is a new principle of government—happily, however, gaining ground, along with some other political novelties of great value,—that in this, as in other things, "honesty is the best policy." One or two of M. Gisquet's instances, in which the bait held out by those "fishers of men," the police, has been swallowed, and the hook very carefully eschewed, will at once come in illustration of that truth, and exhibit a curious view of those social waters in which such game is to be sought and found.

A certain baroness, whose husband had been attached to the service of the exiled royal family, affected a sincere devotion for the new dynasty. She addressed to me periodical reports, containing but little information certainly, and remarkable only for their gracefulness of narration—and received, occasionally, an order for some moderate sum, on the secret-service fund. The insignificance of her notes had determined me to get rid of her; but the baroness resolved not to renounce the advantages of the part which she had undertaken to play. Independently of her importunate visits, she overwhelmed me with intelligence borrowed from the journals,—or invented some innocent story of her own,—not failing to demand the price of her trifling services. When, finally, she had exhausted my patience, she hit upon a new pretext for making one more charge upon my credulity. It was about the close of 1832, the period when the government knew certainly that the Duchesse de Berri was hidden somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nantes. Our baroness declared to me, verbally and in writing, that she was acquainted with the retreat of Madame, but could not make up her mind to betray such a secret, without the promise of a large reward, and a moderate sum of one thousand francs paid down on account. Though I had little confidence in her veracity, yet her affirmations were made with so much confidence, the names of certain legitimists were so skillfully insinuated as her informants, and her former position really gave her such opportunities of penetrating the secrets of the party, that I did not feel myself at liberty to neglect the chance of rendering so important a service to the government. The sum demanded was, therefore, remitted to the Baroness; who, thereupon, the next day, announced to me that the Duchesse was concealed, under the name of Madame Bertin, in a chateau near Arpajon. As I knew positively that her hiding-place was either in Nantes, or within a circle having a radius of some leagues from that town, the information of the Baroness was simply a lie, fabricated to aid a piece of swindling. Some twenty of my legitimist agents made use of the same stratagem, in the same view, before the Princess was arrested.

On the occasion of the attempt against the King's life, in November 1832, a former agent, dismissed because of his false communications, sent me the following letter:—

"Monsieur le Préfet,—For the last three months, I have ceased to write to you,—you have failed to

appreciate me. Your want of confidence has caused you to despise my informations; and I have not been treated with the consideration due to a man better able, from his position, to serve you than any other. Notwithstanding my just indignation, I have it yet in my power to enlighten you. Your whole police is in search of the wretch who fired this morning, on the King! You will not find him, however; but to me he is well known. I passed a portion of yesterday in his company; and can tell you who he is, where he is, and give you all the necessary proofs of his crime. But the injustice which I have suffered renders me, in any turn, distrustful. I will no longer wait for the recompense which I have so well deserved. If you give me the bearer 1,500 francs for me, I will speak; if not, you shall know nothing."

I immediately communicated this letter to M. Thiers, at that time Minister of the Interior; and, by his advice, I summoned the writer to my cabinet. M. Thiers met him there; and we jointly interrogated him. He reiterated his declaration, in the most formal manner; but obstinately refused all further explanation till he should have received the 1,500 francs. The sum was therefore paid; and he then declared that the two pistols found on the Pont Royal, after the attempt, belonged to a certain *Sieur Lambert*, who had lent them, in his presence, to the *Sieur Giroux*, which latter had used them for the criminal purpose in question. He mentioned five or six accomplices of Lambert and Giroux—declared that they had tried the pistols in company, and that Giroux had long practised at a board on which was drawn the figure of the king. He pointed out the place, day, and hour of the crime, with precision; nothing, in fact, was wanting to his revelation—except truth! The whole of these particulars were of the *Sieur P*—'s invention.

On the eve of the crime of Fieschi, another rascal, with no less effrontery, acquainted, by public rumour, with the anxiety which we were suffering on the subject of the next day's review, announced to me, in a written report, that a plot skillfully prepared menaced the life of the King; and that eight republicans had met at his house to discuss finally the means of executing it. He offered to denounce and arrest the conspirators, beforehand, if I consented to give him, at once, a certain sum. * * M. Thiers was still Minister of the Interior; and thought, with me, that it was better to be duped a hundred times than run the risk of rejecting such a warning. He, accordingly, authorized the payment of the sum demanded. Our informer, then, stated, that the conspirators, one only of whom was known to him, were to meet again, at his house, at an early hour of the 28th, for the distribution of their parts; and, from thence, to adjourn, at once, to the point destined for the commission of the crime. He advised that we should surround his house, in the morning, and watch the movements of every individual who might leave it; by which precaution, we should be sure of having the plotters under the hand of the police, at the moment when they might attempt to act. Fifteen inspectors, two peace officers, and a commissary of police, immediately stationed themselves around the dwelling, where they passed the night. But their surveillance had no result. Two men only, accomplices of this fraud, no doubt, entered the house of their pretended co-conspirator; where they stayed till the moment of the review,—when one of them departed for Montmartre, and the other for Charonne. * *

Let me quote one other example of this kind, out of a thousand of which I retain the recollection. It is Madame the Comtesse de B—, who, on this occasion, had all the honour and profit of the combination. This lady was well aware of the anxiety of the authorities to discover the retreat of the republicans who had made their escape, in July 1835, from the prison of Sainte-Pélagie. Accordingly, she wrote to me that a pressing want of money compelled her to an infamous action. She demanded a few thousands of francs, for the revelation of a secret of which she declared herself to be the depositary; offering to betray the hiding-place of several of the prisoners, and demanding an advance of only 1,000 francs. The Minister authorized the payment; and Madame la Comtesse informed us that she was about to accompany to the frontier two of the persons in question,—who were to pass, one for her husband, and the other for her servant. She indicated the Dili-

gence, the day of departure, and the names, real and assumed, of the fugitives. She did, in fact, set out, in the carriage announced; six of my agents occupied it with her; and measures were, as may be supposed, taken to arrest her imaginary travelling companions. But, if the amiable Countess had really any delinquents by her side, their culpability was, at any rate, not of a nature to demand the supreme jurisdiction of the Court of Peers. In fact, our fine lady made, at the expense of the State, a journey, all whose *agrémens* she had the wit to reserve for herself.

Our author's revelations on this subject of secret agencies, will scarcely be approved of by his successors in the administration of the prefecture: and how far it might have been prudent to leave the subject altogether untouched, rather than encounter the difficulties of a defence, may be gathered from the following curious specimen of logic—insisting upon a distinction, somewhat too subtle to be appreciated beyond the limits of the department in the spirit of whose practice it seems to have been especially conceived.

So much has been said about agents shut up in the prisons, for the purpose of discovering the secrets of criminals, that a word or two on the subject will not be misplaced. Spies of this particular description, known by the title of *Moutons*, are personages rather fitted to figure in the episodes of a romance, than to play a part in any real drama. The fact is, that if this means of detection has ever been employed, it can have been only in those days, when the exercise of absolute power allowed the complete isolation of prisoners. I can understand how, under such circumstances, an unfortunate being deprived for years of all communication from without, and foreseeing no termination to his imprisonment, may have derived consolation from unbosoming himself to some supposed companion of his captivity, apparently as wretched as himself. But since our laws have placed the prisoner under the protection of the magistrate, and the worst criminals have the privilege of correspondence with their families and friends, excepting in certain cases of solitary confinement (*mise au secret*) which can only be inflicted after judgment, and for a very short period, how should so gross a device as this be successful?—A culprit must be stupid indeed who could suffer himself to be caught by a stratagem so clumsy.—From all which, it is evident, as a conclusion, that the *mouton* may fairly be abandoned to the semi-barbarous chronicles of the feudal times, or left among the mysteries of the dungeons of the Inquisition. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suppose, from what has been said, that my agents were never deprived of their liberty. I have frequently caused them to be arrested, as members of secret societies; and could not except them from the measures of severity exercised against the real members, without betraying their connexion with myself. They took their trials with their supposed accomplices, and submitted to all the legal consequences of the accusation; after which they naturally inspired more confidence in the reality of their assumed characters. There resulted, too, this further advantage from their detention, that their abode in prison served to enlighten me as to dangerous projects. In gaol, the plots of the disaffected were soon and surely learnt.

It is difficult for one not accustomed to police logic, to see in what this latter class of spies differs from those whom our author insists upon leaving amongst the exclusive *dramatis personæ* of the Inquisition, unless it be perhaps in that particular name *Mouton*, which, with him, seems to constitute the offence. It is due, however, to M. Gisquet to say that, according to his own report, he laboured for the moral amelioration of his department, and to raise the character of his agents. A branch of his administration, famous, under the restoration, as the *Brigade de Sureté*, had been specially organized by the celebrated Vidocq, on the birdcatcher's principle of taking his game by the agency of their own kind. Vidocq, who had the inspirations of Jonathan Wild, without his genius, surrounded himself only with men whom the law had already marked with its hand.

He selected his own agents, fixed and paid their salaries, and disposed of their services pretty nearly as he pleased,—the repugnance which prefects, and their superior agents, felt to being brought in contact with the men of his brigade, leaving him an almost uncontrolled direction over it.

Vidocq, says M. Gisquet, is an acute and intelligent man, but rather too much tormented with the desire of making himself talked about. I will pass over the services which he may have rendered, because they belong to a period antecedent to my administration:—but, after having, myself, employed him for several months, I found that his talent was not (or was no longer) equal to his reputation. It had been generally thought that a thieves' police could only be successfully worked by thieves: I was determined to try if it could not be done by honest men, and the result has not disappointed me. I could not submit to see my authority longer exposed to the reproach of being represented by men who, themselves under the taint of legal conviction, could not be heard in evidence upon their oaths. I organized the Brigade of Safety, therefore, on a new basis, dismissed from its ranks every man who had ever been criminally convicted, and ordered that, in future, none should be received but persons of excellent character.

Many pages of these volumes are devoted to the lamentable events which took place in June 1832, on occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque, when the streets of Paris were strewn with dead and wounded to the amount of hundreds, and 1,500 criminals were consigned to its goals. The detail of the arrangements made to meet this anticipated movement, and to heal its consequences, and even the sanguinary and revolting particulars of the terrible march itself, would have little interest for our readers, fresh as its melancholy incidents must be in their recollection. But it is a curious circumstance, not, we think, generally known, that among the wild schemes of that guilty day, one had been formed to throw the illustrious Lafayette into the river, as the procession passed the Pont d'Austerlitz, for the purpose of attributing his murder to the police, and inflaming the passions of the multitude up to the point which would have insured the sacking of Paris. Such are the fearful stakes with which the political gamblers of France have played of late years. The General appears to have owed his escape to the mere accident of another party of the insurgents, ignorant of the plot, having forced him into a *fiacre*, and carried him off to the Hôtel de Ville, to proclaim a republic, at the very moment and from the very scene of its intended execution. It is an honourable fact, that, in spite of the terrible provocation, the blood which flowed on this occasion received no accession from the scaffold—a fact worth recalling here, because in the same spirit which, during the whole of the present troubled reign, has, in a remarkable degree, tempered the administration of a necessary justice.

The wild attempt of the Duchesse de Berri to raise La Vendée, in spite of the remonstrances of her partisans, and the romantic circumstances attending her long concealment and ultimate capture, are amongst the topics which will give an interest to these pages, when the record of those events has passed into the keeping of history, from that of the memory of a living generation. The nobles of the province, in a letter filled with their old chivalric devotion to the royal race, had, nevertheless, made such an exposure to the Duchess of their utter destitution of resources, as would have arrested the movements of any one worthy to conduct a great enterprise to a successful issue; and the chiefs of the party in the capital, scarcely less staunch, but less patient under her folly, read her a rebuke likely to have been as

little regarded by a selfish, headstrong woman, but for the commentary which it received from facts. MM. de Chateaubriand, Hyde de Neuville, and the Duc de Fitz-James, drew up a joint note, which M. Berryer undertook to deliver to the Duchess; and whose terms express clearly enough that their respect for the mother of their acknowledged King was, for the moment, not a little impaired by the profligacy of her hopeless venture:—

The persons who are honoured with a special confidence, cannot avoid testifying their regret at the counsels out of which the present crisis has arisen. These counsels must have been given by men full of zeal, it is not doubted, but knowing neither the actual state of things nor of dispositions. The party is mistaken, in imagining the possibility of a movement in Paris. The party would find scarcely twelve hundred men, unmixed up with police-agents, who, for a few crowns, could be got together to make a noise in the street, but who would there have to fight the National Guard and a faithful garrison. The party is deceived about La Vendée, as about the south. That country of devotedness and sacrifices is wasted by a numerous army, aided by the population of towns nearly all anti-legitimist. A rising of the peasants could have no other issue than to cause the country to be sacked, and to consolidate the existing government through the influence of an easy triumph. It is considered, that if the mother of Henry V. be in France, she should lose no time in quitting it,—giving orders to the chiefs to remain quiet. Thus, instead of having come thither to organize a civil war, she would have come for the purpose of commanding peace,—and acquire the glory of having performed an act of great courage, and arrested the effusion of French blood. The prudent friends of legitimacy,—who had no previous intimation of what the party was about to do, were not consulted as to the hazardous step intended to be taken, and knew nothing of the facts until after they had been accomplished,—fling the responsibility of those acts upon the individuals who were their counsellors and authors. They will neither accept the credit of success, nor submit to the blame of failure.

The communications of M. de Chateaubriand and his friends with the Duchess becoming known to the government, the former were arrested; and, though their freedom could at once have been obtained by avowing the purport of those communications, yet, refusing to admit the competency to interrogate them of a court deriving its authority from a political source of which they denied the original authority, they remained in custody for a fortnight. Anxious to render as light as possible the captivity of M. de Chateaubriand, M. Gisquet gave up to him three of his own rooms at the Prefecture: and thence, the former addressed to M. Bertin the elder, a letter, worth quoting, as exhibiting the fanciful nature of the position which he had assigned to himself—amusing, for the poetical fiction which speaks of his approaching martyrdom, with the key of his prison all the while in his own pocket, and the knowledge that he might walk out of it whenever it should please him to do so.

I awaited, my dear Bertin, the coming of your ancient friendship; and it was true to the appointment, in the day of my adversity. The brotherhood of exile and of the prison is like that of the college—its members are for ever linked together by the memory of common joys and common lessons. My wish would be to come to you; and I would wish, too, to go in person, and thank all the journalists for the interest they have shown towards me, and their remembrance, to-day, of the defender of the freedom of the press. But I am a captive, as you know—though captivity is softened to me by the courtesy of my hosts. I cannot speak too highly of the kindness and attention of the Prefect; and I find a plesure in this expression of my gratitude. One thing afflicts me profoundly—the suffering which I occasion to Madame de Chateaubriand. Invalid as she is, and having already suffered fifteen months' imprisonment for me, under the reign of

terror, it remains not without in one or might be reflect. political of state, can, thus governm fore, assu am an c submitti and ask and I political made in the establ acknowled a tribuna Would tion? sequence the oath my part judges, intimate which I found m siege— moment— ident in and that great in mine, the France— of taxes accused violence—ackn social c crime— I admit it holds led, for prove n acknow de facto to answer my sile most p refusal existing matter, ancient me, doo assumel decide am rig or less have a sake, w ed, N condu and ca to tell should tribuna one qu succee give, i versati further pose o cordial ville— more, course his yo have, the D this k Bourb tribuna get me teabn the p with third

terror, it is hard to visit her with the weight of my remaining destiny. But, my dear friend, the fault is not with me. I am placed, by the fact of my arrest, in one of those false positions, on which, perhaps, it might have been well for those who so placed me to reflect. I have refused my adhesion to the existing political order, given in my resignation as a minister of state, and renounced my pension as a peer. I can, thus, be neither ungrateful, nor a traitor to the government of Louis-Philippe. Must it be, therefore, assumed that I am an enemy? Well! if so, I am an open and disarmed one—a vanquished foe, submitting patiently to a *fact* which I cannot alter, and asking no quarter. Then, my person is seized, and I am interrogated about a pretended crime, or political offence, of which I am supposed to have made myself guilty. But if I do not acknowledge the established political order, how am I expected to acknowledge the competency, in a political sense, of a tribunal emanating from that political order? Would not my doing this involve a gross contradiction? Denying the principle, can I admit the consequence? I had much better at once have taken the oath in the Chamber of Peers. There is, on my part, no contempt of the law—I honour the judges, and respect the tribunals; but there is the intimate persuasion of a truth and of a duty from which I am not free to swerve. You see, I do not found my argument on the illegality of the *état de siège*—a flagrant illegality, nevertheless—but I mount higher. The *état de siège* is but a trivial incident in the train of the great primary illegality—and that incident is a compelled consequence of that great illegality. I have said, in recent writings of mine, that I acknowledge the social order existing in France—that I hold myself obliged to the payment of taxes, &c.—from whence it follows, that, were I accused of a social crime (such as murder, theft, or violence done to person or property), I must answer,—acknowledging the competence of the tribunals in social questions. But I am accused of a political crime,—and then, I refuse to plead. Nevertheless, I admit, that if the government suspects me of what it holds to be a political crime, it will naturally be led, for its own defence, to proceed against me, and prove my criminality, if it can. But I, who do not acknowledge that government but as a government *de facto*, have a right, at my proper peril, of refusing to answer. Nay, my accusers have an advantage in my silence—inasmuch as I voluntarily renounce my most powerful weapon of defence. I founded my refusal to take the oath on two grounds—first, The existing monarchy does not, in my view of the matter, derive its right by succession from the ancient monarchy; secondly, neither, according to me, does it derive it from the popular sovereignty, inasmuch as a national congress was not assembled to decide the form of the government. Whether I am right or wrong—whether these theories be more or less daring or tenable—is not the question. I have a conviction—will adhere to it, and, for its sake, will make all sacrifices, that of my life included. Nothing, then, can be more logical than my conduct before the *juge d'instruction*. I could not, and cannot, answer his questions;—for, were I even to tell him my name, when he asks it judicially, I should thereby acknowledge the competence of his tribunal in matters political, and, having answered one question, should be compellable to answer all succeeding ones. I have offered, and still offer, to give, in the way of *courtesy*, and in the form of conversation not legal, all the explanations necessary—further than that I cannot go. What do they purpose doing with me?—what with the excellent, cordial, courageous, and honourable Hyde de Neuville—ever the sport of exile and the dungeon—once more, at the close of his days, entering upon the course of persecution to which his fidelity exposed his youth? What will they do with my noble, loyal, brave, intelligent, and eloquent *ci-devant* colleague, the Duc de Fitz-James? What shall be the fate of this last of the Stuarts, defending the last of the Bourbons? Should they drag me from tribunal to tribunal, for twenty years to come, they shall not get me to say that I am François-Auguste de Chateaubriand. Were they to carry me to Nantes, for the purpose of *confronting* me (that is the phrase) with M. Berryer, I would say, in the interest of a third party, all that I know of him, and he would

come out pure as snow from my examination. But for my own person, I would surrender it unresistingly; and my silence they may convert into the final silence, if they will. (!) Captain Lanoue, my dear friend, was, like me, a Breton; but I have nothing else in common with my illustrious compatriot, save, also, the esteem with which the different parties honour me, and which makes the pride of my existence. Lanoue had not seen Brittany for many a day, when Henry IV. sent him to fight the Duc de Mercœur. Lanoue was killed at the scaling of a château. He had entertained a presentiment of his death; and, on entering Brittany, had said, "Like the hare, I return to die on my form." My form, too, is ready. It has pleased the little town of my birth to rear, by anticipation, and at its own cost, my tomb, in an island chosen by myself. This, then, is the secret of my correspondence with the *Chouans* of Brittany! Is it not an abominable conspiracy?—Farewell, my friend!—and be free, if you can!

Our readers will, no doubt, remember, in perusing the closing passages of this letter, that we announced to them, some time ago, the consecration, on the island of the Grand Bré, at Saint Malo, of a monument destined one day to receive the mortal remains of the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*—at which ceremony the intended tenant had the advantage of being present in the flesh, and assisting!

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Popular Errors Explained and Illustrated, by John Timbs.—The explanation of popular errors is an encyclopædia to re-write.—What is error? who are the people? False opinions, universally accredited, are brevet truths; popular errors then are opinions held by the people and not by somebody else. But who are the people, and who the somebody not of the people? These are difficult questions to answer. Certainly the people, in this contemptuous sense of the word, are not the great unwashed merely; the term embraces also many and many dignified personages, rich, and therefore respectable; great, and therefore authoritative. Cast an eye over the names of those titled persons who have borne willing testimony in behalf of quacks and quackery: are these of the people? and if not, are their mistakes popular errors? Then, *per contra*, how many opinions held by the very populace, and long disputed by the learned, turn out to be *belles petites vérités*, as Rabelais calls them. All this, however, is Michin Malicho; and Mr. Timbs is utterly guiltless of it. The little work before us touches only those errors as to matters of fact, which may be handled with a safe conscience. The worst of it is, that its author has not brought to the task all the knowledge even of matters of fact necessary to its due execution; and consequently is not always safe in the authorities he quotes. For instance, the oxalic acid in sorrel is not sufficient to injure, much less to poison, the most determined eater of fricandeau; and the little which the vegetable does contain is mostly boiled out of it before it is brought to the table. Again, the high reputation of sage as a panacea, maintained by our ancestors, and embodied in the verse,

Cur moriatur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto?

has not, as the author imagines, anything to do with a difference of species; but rests altogether in a difference in the state of art. Again, the whole article on edible mushrooms, though put forth on authority, is dangerous from its vagueness, and ought not to be trusted. It is evident, indeed, that the author has mistaken the scope of his subject, which should be confined to the denouncing of opinions, definitively proved to be erroneous; and not extended to notions on which one or two writers only have expressed an opinion. A great many of the errors denounced in this little work are questions still *sub judice*. Another defect in the execution is, that in many of the articles the author has not clearly stated the truth that is in him, so as to fix the merits of the case in the mind of the unsentient reader. We state these objections not to injure the sale of the book, which, in the main, is calculated to answer a good purpose, but to impress on the editor the necessity of more consideration being bestowed on the future numbers.

The Tower of London: an Historical Romance, by William Harrison Ainsworth: illustrated by George Cruikshank.—If this volume is to be considered as a guide book, the writer may be praised for diligence and accuracy; but as a romance it is heavy and over elaborated. Mr. Ainsworth's determination "to leave no part of the old pile un-illustrated," has spoiled his story, and we feel that there is a greater watchfulness to exhibit the stones and cement of the Tower itself, than naturally to develop a fable, in which, while such details had an interest, it should be secondary to that of the fortunes of the human beings, who had sighed and suffered within their grim inclosure. It was not thus that Victor Hugo, Mr. Ainsworth's model, rivetted our thoughts on the Cathedral of Paris. Once having described Notre Dame, the spell of its towers and aisles was maintained, without a restless enumeration of every separate shrine, and chapel, and carved flag-stone. It was not thus that we were shown the Saintlow Tower, and Leicester and Lancaster Buildings, in Scott's 'Kenilworth.' Moreover, if Mr. Ainsworth's mechanically minute treatment of his subject trammels his fable, there is nothing in his principal characters,—though they include Catholic Queen Mary, and Lady Jane Grey, and the Maiden Monarch!—to quicken its involved and cumbrous machinery with life and energy. We are told that M. Renard, the Spanish Ambassador, is scheming and unscrupulous, the proper black Papist of Leadenhall Street novels; that Master Nightgall, the jailer, is an Elizabethan Jonathan Wild; that of the three loyal ladies, one was bigotted and conscientious—one as gentle, as wise, and as patient as became Master Ascham's pupil—and one showed sparks of the spirit which was to light up her century—but unhappily they all speak the same language; and tamer, less individual, less dramatic English, it would be impossible to find, save perhaps in the dialogues which follow the old spelling books. The mirth of the giants Og, Gog, and Magog, in the stone kitchen, is a trifle more lifelike: but Xit, the dwarf, their familiar, is as total an impossibility as his name. We can hardly bring home to ourselves one among the historical or fancied creatures of the tale, even with Mr. Cruikshank's aid. This leads us to the illustrations. In all of them the composition is clever, in some pictorial—witness the torch-lit entry to the Tower of Lady Jane Grey as a prisoner—but the figures are sad caricatures. Some bony, spider-waisted phantom must stand between our artist and the sun, whenever he wishes to sketch youth and grace in woman; Queen Mary, and Jane, and Elizabeth, being mere skeletons in farthingales, as starved in their anatomy as in their dialogue. On the other hand, Villany, wearing a black beard, never looked more villainous than in his melo-dramatic male figures. He, too, is strongest among the giants, whose good-humoured visages and burly limbs restore him to his natural element—the grotesque.

Dacre of the South: or the Olden Time, by Mrs. Gore.—Mrs. Gore, yielding to her dramatic propensities, here gives us a five-act drama, in blank verse, on the sad story of Thomas Fiennes, Lord Dacre, so strangely condemned in the year 1542. She has made the accusation brought against her hero turn on a boyish frolic of deer-stealing, into which he suffered himself to be entrapped;—too slight a charge to be accepted as the master-incident of a serious play—on which, as on a scaffold, a structure of passion, and agony, and death, is to be raised. To the poetry of the serious drama Mrs. Gore is wholly unequal. The best specimen we have been able to find is the following, from the parting scene between Lord Dacre and his wife, before his execution; and surely even this hardly rises above graceful commonplace:

Dacre. Listen!—(he takes her hand; she looks anxiously into his face.)

There'll come a time hereafter, love,
When all thou hear'st this day,—this heavy day,—
Will, like a strain of recollected music,
Steal back into thy soul!—I'd fain have had
Some parting pledge to give thee,—some poor token
Of our last interview. They've ta'en all from me!—
Yet one thing stays within my rifted casket,
Worthless in common eyes, beyond all price
In those of wedded love.—

(Takes two tresses of hair from his bosom.)

Behold! dost thou
Remember this?—'Tis the first tress of hair
Shred from our first-born's head—soft silken tress,
Fair as the hopes that smil'd upon his birth!—(Kisses it.)

OUR WEEKLY Gossip

the "Diary of the Times of George the Fourth" first appeared, we stated (*Athen.* No. 542), that every page proved it to be the work of an inmate of the royal residence, but of the royal drawing-room, and that a careful comparison of dates and places brought the authorship home, beyond all question, to one special individual. Soon after, some of our contemporaries spoke with less reserve, and attributed it by name to Lady Charlotte Barry, the sister of the Duke of Argyll. This was positively denied, and "by authority," and the second part appeared with a swaggering preface, written by Mr. John Galt, whose name figured in the title-page as editor. It now appears, by a letter from Mr. Galt's son, published in *Farrer's Magazine*, that it is a subject of much regret to Mr. Galt's family, that he ever permitted his name to be in any way connected with that publication—and it is very natural that it should be so: no regrets, however, can remove the odium and disgrace which must in consequence attach to his memory. We shall leave the parties interested to settle and arrange their several moral delinquencies, and only advert to the subject that those who wrote heretofore "by authority," may have the pleasure of contradicting Mr. Galt's son, who gives the following explanation of the whole mystification:—"My father's connection with the work in question was this:—After the publication of the first two volumes of the 'Diary,' he applied to Lady Charlotte Barry, with a request that she would consent to permit his name to appear as editor, since she wished much to divert public attention from her own share in the publication. She also represented that she suffered great injury from the work being printed, as Colburn could not prosecute, from being unable to make use of the name of the author. Eventually, she succeeded in overpersuading my father, and in further inducing him to write a preface; in the course of the printing, also, proof-sheets were sent to him at Greenock; but, with the matter, arrangement, or success of the work, he had not the slightest interest or connection."

According to the daily papers, a strange and enigmatical communication was made a few days since to Mr. Norton, the magistrate, by a Mrs. Moroner, who stated that she had sailed from this country in the same vessel with the late Mrs. McLean, (formerly Miss Landon,) on her way to Cape Coast Castle; that she had been present at the inquiry which took place relative to the sudden death of Mrs. McLean, and had taken notes of the proceedings, as well as of the circumstances which occurred during the voyage, and subsequent residence of that lady in Africa. On her return to this country, she related to the friends of Mrs. McLean the circumstances attending her death, which had come within her knowledge, but latterly she had been subjected to considerable annoyance by some gentlemen who had discovered the fact of her having such documents in her possession, which they insisted upon her giving up. She, however, refused to comply with their request, as they declined giving their names; and on one or two occasions their conduct was not at all becoming gentlemen. The object of her application was to know whether she would be justified in giving them into custody. In reference to this subject, the following letter has been since published. It is conclusive enough so far as Mrs. Bailey is concerned, but itself conjures up phantoms about cowardly insinuations, which the public, at least, will have no power to lay:

In all the London papers of the 24th instant, there appeared a report of some proceeding at the Lambeth-street Police-office the day before, in the course of which Mrs. Bailey (erroneously called by the reporter Moroner) made some extraordinary statements respecting the conduct of individuals said to have called upon her for the purpose of extracting information respecting the death of the late Mrs. L. E. Maclean, and of obtaining from her certain important documents which Mrs. Bailey hinted she had in her possession. I had previously heard the same tale from Mrs. Bailey herself, and, as the only friend of Mr. Maclean in town, I was engaged, when the above report appeared in the papers, in examining the statement with the care required by the woman's position and past conduct. I was aware that she had been closely questioned, on her return home thirteen months ago, as to her knowledge of the circumstances attending Mrs. Maclean's death, by the relatives of both Mr. and Mrs. Maclean, and that she had been also rather eagerly canvassed by some other parties, who have wished—I will not venture to conjecture from what motives—to misrepresent the causes of that lamented event. I also knew that nothing had been elicited from her by the

friends or enemies of either party to give the slightest colour to the calumnies laid forth on the subject. I felt surprised, therefore, on being told by Mrs. Bailey that renewed inquiries had been made of her, under circumstances so extraordinary, by persons refusing to give their names, and still more surprised at some of the improbable details of her story. Finding, however, that she had brought the matter under the notice of the police, I determined on having the statement thoroughly investigated, and for that purpose applied to the commissioners for their assistance in the matter. Colonel Rowan very properly and politely appointed Inspector Hughes, of the A. division, to conduct the inquiry—a full report of which is in the hands of the commissioners. I merely impose the result—on admission on the part of Mrs. Bailey of the entire falsehood of her statements.

"I hereby declare that the statement which I made to Mr. Norton, at the Lambeth Police-office, on Thursday last, to the effect that I had been visited by different persons, some of them apparently of distinction, coming in their carriages, and requiring me to give up documents which I alleged to have in my possession, in reference to the death of the late Mrs. Maclean, is entirely unfounded; that no such persons called upon me, and that I am possessed of no such documents or papers of importance, but merely the statements of what took place when I arrived. I very sincerely regret having been led by the public excitement on this subject to invent these stories. It is true that I embarked with Mrs. Maclean as her personal servant at Portsmouth, and attended her in that capacity up to the time of her death at Cape Coast Castle; but I hereby solemnly declare, that I never saw or heard of anything to justify the calumnies which have been circulated against her husband on the subject of her death. I neither saw nor heard of any ill treatment, nor do I believe Mr. Maclean capable of any of those things which I have heard laid to his charge by public rumour."

"ELLEN EMILY BAILEY's mark (my name), E. B.
"Witnessed the above initials, signed by Mrs. Bailey, in presence of her mother, J. BAILEY, Esq., Mrs. MORONER, (Signed) "SAMUEL HUGHES, Inspector A. division."

December 31, 1890.
It is singular that the first of the calumnious fables found on the death of Mrs. Maclean, susceptible of accurate examination, should have terminated in so speedy and complete an exposure of the author. Would that the cowardly insinuations, who have so deeply wounded the feelings of the unfortunate husband, had reduced their stories, even in any one instance, to a form sufficiently tangible to admit of similar analysis and refutation!

I am sorry to add that I have reason to believe that the extraordinary fabrications of Mrs. Bailey are not the last links which remain to be broken of the chain of falsehood by which it has been sought to enthrall the character of my friend, for the sake of pandering to the public appetite for scandal. But his absence from this country, added to the indefinite nature of the charges against him, have hitherto afforded impunity to his libellers, which it may not be safe for them always to rely upon.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
M. FORSTER.

New City Chambers, Dec. 31, 1890.

The Expedition under Mr. Schomburgk, appointed to survey and define the boundaries of British Guiana, sailed last week for Demerara. The frontier line of that country is, we believe, disputed both by the Brazilians and Venezuelans; and when a Protestant missionary attempted to settle among the independent Indians, and in a territory to which England lays claim, the Brazilian government sent a military detachment to take possession of the village, order off the missionary, and disperse the Indians; and a subsequent attempt to found a mission further to the eastward was equally frustrated by their interference. The horrible slaving expeditions also of the Brazilians, the object of which is to kidnap the Indians, and carry them into slavery, are most successfully carried on in these border countries; and the British government have resolved, so far as possible, to put an end to them, by having a clearly-defined boundary, within which the poor Indian shall be secure. Mr. Schomburgk is accompanied by Mr. Glascott, R.N., as assistant surveyor, Mr. Walton, an artist, and his brother, Mr. Richard Schomburgk, a naturalist, who goes out with the permission of the British, but at the expense of the Prussian government. The Niger Expedition also will leave England in a few days. We learn from the *Gardener's Chronicle*, that "among the naturalists who accompany it are Dr. Theodor Vogel, a learned German botanist, and Mr. Ansell, a young man from the Garden of the Horticultural Society. The attention of both these gentlemen will be especially directed, not only to the collection of dried and living specimens of plants, but to the examination of the capabilities of the country as regards agricultural and horticultural objects, to the nature of its climate and soil with reference to vegetation, and to various subjects connected with vegetable physiology. A large supply of garden-seeds is taken out by Mr. Ansell; and if the expedition is prosperous, we may expect the best results from the investigations of Dr. Vogel and himself. It is to be hoped that the

Napoleon's imperial, a most singular tree, with flowers of the deepest azure, which has only been hitherto found by Pajot de Beauvois, in the petty kingdom of Waree, will reward their toil. If this plant alone were introduced to our gardens, it would be worth all the cost incurred by the expedition in the botanical department. Plenty of other fine things will, however, we doubt not, be met with."

We are indebted to a young friend, the worthy son of a worthy age, for the following amusing illustration of Mr. Knight's argument respecting Shakespeare's wife's claim to dower:—

Mr. Knight has proved beyond question that if Shakespeare forgot the Anne Hathaway of his younger years in the first draft of his will, and then inserted her name, with a bequest, which is, as Mr. Moore has called it, "a blessed sarcasm," he did not leave her unprovided for. His wife was entitled to dower, or a life-interest in a third of a certain portion of his estates. To have mentioned this in his will he would have been writing for his commentators: that this does not prove that he looked on terms of affection with his wife, for he added little from love, to what the law had already assigned her; and, singular enough, Mr. Knight has overlooked the most curious illustration of a part of his position, and of the poet's bequest to his wife. What fellows! copy from the will of Sir John Hayward, the historian, dated the 30th of March, 1628:—"I gave to my wife the bedd wherein she sleeth, with all things pertaining thereto, and two other of the bestest bedds for servants, which, together with all my former legacies unto her, and her heirs, which she shall enjoy out of the lands in Tottenham before mentioned, I esteem enough in regard of the small portion she brought me; And in regard of her virtuous life and small respect towards me, a greater deal to much." (Hayward's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, p. xliii.) Now I would not say that this was the case with Shakespeare, but the coincidence and explanation are alike curious.

27, Lower Belgrave Place, Yours, &c.,
24th December. PETER CURMINGHAM.

We have not often seen a more interesting or better executed Panorama than the City of Damascus just built—not painted—by Mr. Burford. Townward, the mass of street-architecture, picturesque, as suggesting the ways and habits of eastern life, is effectively broken by fragments of ancient ruins, gateways, and shallow domes, the expanse of roofs being yet more strikingly varied by palm-trees and minarets, and well relieved against a background of hills. On the other side is the arid, sandy road towards the plain, with a Bedoween encampment, and a few scattered villages—the whole animated by groups of figures less prominent than usual in pictures of the kind. Damascus is also more firmly painted and more carefully finished than some of its predecessors, or our favourable judgment is to be ascribed to having visited it in the afternoon, when the waning sunshine and lessening light gave the scene a crowning charm of reality.

Mr. Bailey's colossal bronze statue of Sir Richard Bourke, now packed up for Sidney, New South Wales, was exhibited for a few days previous to its departure. There is much to admire in this work. The sculptor has not sacrificed the repose, without which no solitary figure of its class can be impressive, but given a degree of animation to his work by its attitude; which is one of a person while advancing pausing to speak. The head is fine: the regimental costume is adhered to in its utmost rigour, and, save, perhaps, about the throat, where the regular wrinkles of the stock, and the upright embroidered collar, give an inevitable formality—not half so great, however, as the formidable ruff which garnishes so many ancient effigies,—its effect is artistic and satisfactory; the mantle, which falls naturally in long and massive folds, concealing many of those details which would have been unmanageable and offensive.

Prince Alexander Labanoff, who published at Paris in 1839, a collection of letters of Mary Queen of Scots, with the title of 'Lettres inédites de Marie Stuart, accompagnées de diverses dépêches et instructions,' has, we are informed, since continued his researches with indefatigable zeal and the most flattering success. He is now in possession of 645 copies of letters, with the prospect of a very important addition. Of these letters some have already appeared in different works; but 134 are to be found only in books of rare occurrence, and 406 have hitherto been shut up in different repositories. There are 444 in the French language, 190 in English, 8 in Latin, and 3 in Italian. The Prince intends to publish the whole collection in the course of the present year: and it is to be hoped that all persons possessed of indited letters of the Scottish Queen, will, by supplying him with copies of such letters enable him to complete his very interesting and important publication.

The German papers announce the death of the beautiful Abyssinian slave, which the "Meteor of Wisdom" and "Rainbow of Beauty," Prince Pückler Muskau, brought with him from the East, as mentioned at the time, in letters from Pesth (*Athen.* No. 630).

It is gratifying to know that the munificence of the season is not confined to beef and blankets, though Hospitality forbid that these bodily comforts should be ever wanting to an English Christmas and New Year's Day. The Duke of Norfolk, we perceive, has made a benefaction to Sheffield of fifty acres of land, to be laid out as a park or public garden, in honourable emulation of Mr. Strutt, of Derby; while Sir Francis Egerton has lent a helping hand to the scientific researches of M. Agassiz, by giving 500*l.* for that distinguished naturalist's original drawings for the 'Poisons fossiles,' the drawings to remain with the artist so long as they can be of any use to him. A shade to these bright lights presents itself in the less welcome announcement, that, owing to a want of co-operation, Sir Charles Lemon has withdrawn his liberal offer to give ten or twenty thousand pounds, as might be required, to establish and endow a mining school in Cornwall, as noticed *Athen.* No. 673.

Our musical world of operas and concerts is, as yet, very torpid; and we hardly know what to promise or what to expect. Threats have been floating up and down the arcades of the Haymarket, that since M. Laporte does not choose to engage the whole of the Italian operatic company, he will be allowed by M. Mariani, who farms their voices for a twelvemonth, to have none of them; that La Frezzolini has been bespoken to replace Grisi, and Moriani vice Rubini, and the Ronconi—brother to the youth who sang at the *Opera Buffa* three years since, and who bears the reputation of being the best artist in Italy—instead of Lablache. As regards the latter, we are much disposed to echo Cuddie Headrigg's exclamation, concerning Mr. Gabriel Kettledrummle, "Odd, he'll ne'er fill Rumbleberry's bonnet!" The whole change, if such a thing really be in contemplation by M. Laporte for his last season of lease-ship, will form pretty matter for another Strathfieldsaye conspiracy, and another omnibus demonstration. In any case, we hope that the manager's programme will be soon put forth, and implicitly abided by. Nor is there much musical movement in Paris at present. M. Adam's last opera, "La Rose de Peronne," is described as containing music of its composer's usual prettiness, based upon a story so very delicate, as to shock even French nerves. We are glad to see that Rouen (Boieldieu's native town) has been making a second effort to destroy that centralization which is the worst feature in French as well as in English music, by producing at its theatre a new opera of its own—a Greek story, by M. Tavernier, set, as the music-books of Handel's time say, by M. Boverly. The opera was successful, the *prima donna* being Madame Hebert-Massy, who, four years since, was a piquant talking actress at *Les Variétés*. Another opera, by M. Guillaux, never heard in Paris, has been recently produced at Bordeaux. We must not forget to notice the success at Milan of Mlle. Rossi, late of the *Opéra Comique*; and may add to this musical paragraph the one theatrical rumour of the postponement of the tragedy written by M. de Lamartine, on the story of Toussaint L'Ouverture, for Mlle. Rachel—the first dramatic essay of that distinguished author—because the father of the young tragedian refused to permit her appearing with a black or coloured face!

DIORAMA, REGENT'S PARK,

WILL BE SHORTLY CLOSED.

NEW EXHIBITION, REPRESENTING THE SHRINE OF THE NATIVITY at Bethlehem, painted by M. Renoir, from a sketch made on the spot by David Roberts, Esq. A.R.A., in 1839. "The spectator may almost suppose himself in the very birth-place of the Saviour."—*Times*. Also, THE CORONATION of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, by M. Bouton. Open from Ten till Four.

SPLENDID EXHIBITION.

THE ROYAL GALLERY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE, ADLAIDE-STREET, WEST STRAND.—During the Week.—The Pyro-Didotrope, the Bi-Scenograph, the Scenic Metamorphosis, the Microscope, and other Novelties, Electrical Experiments, Glass-Blowing, Combustion of Steel, Steam-Gun, will be repeated as frequently as possible during the day for the accommodation of the Visitors; the Polaroscope will be shown by E. M. Clarke, and the Fire Cloud will be exhibited at 4 o'clock in the Longroom, the Electrical Ed., Walton's Card-making Machine, Stevens's Gas-making Apparatus, Braithwaite's New Cooking Stove, Ackerman's Gallery of Prints, Pictures, Statuary, Music, Models, &c.—Admittance, 1*s.*; Catalogues, 6*d.*—Open from half-past Ten till Four daily.

THE EVENING EXHIBITIONS (as well as the MORNING) of the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION (during the CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS, are adapted for the Younger Class). The additional Theatre, Apartments, and Galleries, extend to the number of Twenty-seven, in which are deposited Sixteen Hundred Works, displaying the most Eminent Art, Science, and Industry, one-third of which are new to the Visitors. The LECTURE, the varied and beautiful EXPERIMENTS, and the MICROSCOPE.—Open from half-past Ten to Five o'clock; Evening, from Seven to half-past Ten o'clock. Admission is, a Shilling of Music. Annual Subscriptions are from the 1st of January. The extensive LABORATORY is open to Pupils. The Chemist conducts Assays and Analyses. A Prospectus of the School for the Practical Instruction of Engine Drivers can be had of the Secretary. A New Edition of the Catalogue, price 1*s.*

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY

STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

Dec. 21.—Lieut.-Col. Sykes, V.P., in the chair.

Fourteen new Fellows were elected.

A paper was read, 'On the condition of Criminal Offenders in England and Wales, with respect to Education; or Statistics of Instruction among the Criminal and General Population of England and other Countries,' by R. W. Rawson, Esq.—Since the year 1835, the degree of instruction possessed by criminal offenders in England and Wales has been recorded in the annual tables. For good and sufficient reasons assigned by Mr. Rawson, the present inquiry has been confined to the three years from 1837 to 1839. During this period, 69,517 persons of both sexes were committed for trial, or 23,172 annually. Of this annual average—

8,201 could neither read nor write.
12,567 " read and write imperfectly.
2,318 " read and write well.
86 had acquired a superior degree of instruction.

The per-centage proportions of these numbers are respectively as follows:—

35.4 could neither read nor write.
54.2 " read and write imperfectly.
10.0 " read and write well.
.4 had acquired a superior degree of instruction.

The variations in the proportions during the three years were very small, not having exceeded 2½ per cent. in any class; and the class of superior instruction having only decreased from 4 in 1000 in 1837, to 3 in 1000 in the two following years. These results are confirmed by the experience of every country from which we have similar information. In Scotland, out of 8,907 offenders who were tried in the three years from 1836 to 1838—

Per Cent.
20.3 could neither read nor write.
59.3 " read and write imperfectly.
18.2 " read and write well.
2.4 had received a superior degree of instruction.

Here then the proportion of the wholly uneducated is nearly one-half of that which exists in England, and the proportion of the class who are able to read and write well is nearly double, while that of the educated is six times as great; proving that instruction is much more general, and is usually carried further, in Scotland than in England. In Ireland, on the other hand, the proportions are reversed; but unfortunately the classification is different in that country. Hence it is impossible to draw an exact comparison between Ireland and Scotland, or between the results of equal periods in Ireland and England. These results generally confirm the evidence in the Registrar General's Report, viz. that about one-third of the adult male population of England cannot write even their names; and that from one-fifth to one-fourth cannot read or write even in the most imperfect manner.—In France, it was found, in the year 1836, that 50.5 per cent. of the youths above 18, taken from all classes for the annual conscription, could neither read nor write. With regard to the criminal population, it appears, from the result of seven years, ending with 1834, in which 50,333 persons were brought before the tribunal, that 60.3 per cent. could neither read nor write; 27.7 read and wrote imperfectly; 9.8 well; and 2.2 per cent. possessed superior instruction.—In Belgium, the state of instruction corresponds in a very remarkable manner with that which is found to exist in France; which correspondence, as the circumstances of the two countries and the condition of the population are so similar, affords a strong proof of the correctness of the evidence. Among 36,422 criminal offenders brought before the courts in the five years from 1828 to 1832—

Per Cent.
60.3 could neither read nor write.
27.1 " read and write imperfectly.
10.0 " read and write well.
.21 had received a superior degree of instruction.

The proportions do not differ more than one-half per cent. in any class from those of France. In Belgium, the annual enrolment of the militia offers the same means of ascertaining the state of general education which the conscription affords in France. The result shows that among young men arrived at the age of 18, when they become liable to serve in the militia, the instruction is even below that which prevails among the French conscripts. Of the latter 50.5 per cent. could neither read nor write; of the former 53 per cent. were ignorant to the same degree. From a comparison of the difference existing in the degree of instruction possessed by male and female criminals respectively, we obtain the following results. In England the proportion per cent. who,

	Males.	Females.
Could neither read nor write was	34.4	38.6
read and write imperfectly	54.1	55.0
read and write well	11.1	5.1
Had received superior instruction	.4	.1

In Scotland the proportions are as follows:—

	Males.	Females.
Could neither read nor write	17.1	29.3
read and write imperfectly	53.1	63.1
read and write well	21.8	7.3
Had received superior instruction	.3	.3

In Ireland the proportion of those who

	Males.	Females.
Could neither read nor write was	41.6	62.
read only	20.4	23.9
read and write well	38.8	14.1

Of the 69,517 persons committed for trial in England and Wales, from 1837 to 1839, 258 possessed a superior degree of instruction, and of these, 246 were males, and 12 were females. The following table shows the relative degree of instruction possessed by criminals in the several counties:—

		Criminals Uneducated.		Sign with a Mark.	
The 11 Agricultural counties in the east and south-east					
6	south-east	68.9	47.1		
6	" " south and south-west	87.3	37.6		
5	" " "	67.4	35.		
Average		68.1	42.		
6	Manufacturing counties in the north	90.7	47.		
4	" " south-west	92.1	48.7		
Average		91.1	47.8		
4	Metropolitan counties	87.1	34.4		
Average of the United Kingdom		89.3	41.		

From this it appears, that the agricultural counties are, so far as mere reading and writing goes, more advanced than the manufacturing. As the classification of criminals is the same in Dublin as in London, there are the means of a perfect comparison, and the following are the results:—

	London.	Dublin.
Could neither read nor write	41.3	62.5
read and write imperfectly	49.3	32.6
read and write well	8.4	4.5
Had acquired a superior degree of instruction	1.	.4

There is one class of offenders, viz. disorderly prostitutes, whose miserable mental condition is strongly depicted in these returns. It differs little in the two capitals. In London only 3, and in Dublin 2, in 100, could read and write well; in London only 1, and in Dublin 2, in 1,000, had received a superior degree of instruction. In London 54.1, and in Dublin 74.5, in 100, could neither read nor write.

In conclusion, it may be desirable to briefly recapitulate the principal results ascertained by the inquiry.

1st, That only 10.4 in 100 of the criminal offenders committed for trial in England and Wales are able to read and write well, and only 4 in 1,000 receive superior instruction.

2nd, That these proportions are considerably higher in Scotland, and lower in Ireland.

3rd, That about 1-3rd of the adult male population of England cannot sign their own names, and that from 1-4th to 1-5th can neither read nor write.

4th, That these proportions are much more favourable than in France or Belgium.

5th, That in England instruction is twice as prevalent among male as among female criminals. That in Scotland and Ireland it is three times as prevalent among the male criminals.

6th, That this unfavourable condition of females in these countries is further confirmed by the fact that the proportion of female to male criminals is greater than in England.

7th, That education has a greater influence among

females than among males in restraining them from the commission of crime.

8th, That instruction prevails to a greater extent among the agricultural than among the manufacturing counties of England, but that the agricultural counties in the east, east midland, and south-east, are below the average.

ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY.

Dec. 11.—John Lee, Esq. V.P. in the chair. George Turnbull, Esq., C.E., was elected a fellow. The following communications were read:—“On a large Achromatic Object-Glass of a Telescope worked by Mr. Dollond, the flint glass of which was prepared by the late Dr. Ritchie,” by the Rev. Samuel King, M.A.—In a paper by Mr. Simms, “On the Optical-Glass prepared by the late Dr. Ritchie,” which was read to the Society on the 14th of June, 1839 (*Athen. No. 612*), reference was made to an object-glass of 7½ inches aperture, the flint glass of which was worked by Mr. Dollond out of a disc prepared by Dr. Ritchie. Mr. King now states that the result of numerous observations on a variety of objects leads him to consider this glass as one of much excellence, though not faultless. There is scarcely any spherical aberration, and the light is very white and free from colour; but when the central portion is covered up, there is a good deal of irradiation, indicating a want of homogeneity near the edge of the lens, where the glass is very thick. Upon the whole, however, he is of opinion that this object-glass will bear comparison with most others of the same size worked from the foreign material.—Papers were then read “Describing a Method of dividing one Circle, R, by copying from another, A, previously divided,” by Lieut.-Col. Everest, Director of the Trigonometrical Survey of India.—“On Transits observed at Washington (United States), from January 1 to July 1, 1840; and Occultations observed at the same place, since June, 1839,” by J. Melville Gillies, Esq.—and “On the Places of Bremicker’s Comet, as determined with the Equatorial Telescope at Mr. Bishop’s Observatory,” by the Rev. W. R. Dawes.

ENTOMOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—October.—A variety of exhibitions, in illustration of the economy of different species of insects, were made, including a series of native species of ants, with their nests, &c., by Mr. Smith, who had discovered several distinct species inhabiting the same ant-hill, and had also discovered two kinds of neuters in the sanguinary ant. Mr. Seles communicated a great number of illustrations of different species including specimens of the wheat fly, a small two-winged insect, by which a great portion of a crop of rye near Kingston had been destroyed. Mr. Stephens communicated a remarkable instance of the autumnal disease of flies observed in *Chelisia gracilis*, myriads of which were found dead upon the blades of *Sesleria cærulea*. Other exhibitions were made by Mr. Ingpen and Mr. Westwood, the latter of whom read part of a memoir on the Linnæan species of *Staphylinus*, and exhibited drawings in illustration of the peculiarities in the direction of the veins of the wings of the genera of British butterflies.

November.—The Rev. F. W. Hope, Pres., communicated a mode of capturing wasps and other insects destructive to wall fruit, by placing one hand-glass over another, and making an aperture in the top of the lower glass, by which means the insects ascend into the upper glass, and are easily destroyed. Mr. Westwood communicated some observations on the gradual development of the *Myriapoda*, and exhibited specimens of the young of *Lithobius forficatus*, in which the number of pairs of feet considerably varied. He also read a continuation of his paper on the Linnæan species of *Staphylinus*.

December.—Mr. Evans exhibited several rare coleopterous insects from the Cape of Good Hope, including the remarkable *Pausanias Burneisterei*, the only examples known in British collections. Dr. J. Calvert presented specimens of the larvæ of one of the Noctuidæ which have proved very destructive to his wheat crops in Yorkshire, by devouring the grain in the field. A paper by the Chevalier Schomburgk, containing an account of the migrations of a large species of sulphur-coloured butterfly in British Guiana, and descriptions of some new exotic Hymenopterous insects, by Mr. Westwood, were read.

MEETINGS FOR THE ENSUING WEEK.

MON.	Asiatic Society	Two, P.M.
WED.	Geological Society	½ p. Eight.
THUR.	Royal Society	½ p. Eight.
	Royal Academy (Arch.)	
FRI.	Astronomical Society	Eight.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

MUSIC FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE musical year 1841 opens with the prospectus of a “Singing School for Schoolmasters in Exeter Hall, under the sanction of the National Education Committee.” Though there may be some slight defects in the arrangement and intermixture of general principles and working details in that document, its substance is excellent, and we advert to its principal points with more than ordinary satisfaction.

We agree with the projectors of this establishment, that the number of those who have neither voice nor ear is infinitely smaller than is at all generally supposed; and that the popular taste for music of combination in musical countries—take, for instance, Germany, is more the result of continual and skilful cultivation, than “the spontaneous growth of some national peculiarity of the people.” It follows, that whatever is to be popularized effectively, must be thoroughly taught from the beginning; that all attempts at cheating and luring the scholar into an imperfect guess-work at (rather than knowledge of) the elements of Art, though producing showy results, are, on principle, to be deprecated; hence the Committee has, we think, acted wisely in giving its sanction to M. Wilhem’s sound and progressive method, the success of which has been tested in the Parisian schools, and the study of which has not been found either so abstruse or ungracious, as to deter the humblest and most ignorant of the people of Paris—the very population of the *quais* and the kennels—from crowding to, and abiding by, the gratuitous classes, in which it is taught.

“The method,” says the prospectus, “is divided into two courses, and the first course into two parts. In the first part of the first course, the elementary principles of music are explained and inculcated; the construction and practice of a scale—the shapes, names, and places of notes—time, &c., are rendered clear and comprehensible, because placed in their proper order, and become interesting both on this account, and because the explanation of them is immediately followed by their application. A series of exercises for the practice of intervals completes the first course, and these exercises are interspersed with songs, which have a direct relation to a particular interval, and which thus serve as graduated applications of the skill acquired. The second part of the first course is an amplification of the first, beginning with an explanation of the various scales used in music, and containing also a second series of studies of intervals. The second course goes a third time over the same ground, encountering greater difficulties, and embracing a still wider range of music.”—It must be added, that M. Wilhem’s system has necessarily undergone modifications, not only as to nomenclature, but also arrangement, &c., and that additions have been made to its exercises, so as to suit our English wants. This has been judiciously done by Mr. Hullah, by whom the school is to be directed, and who, besides having studied the theory of the subject, comes to his task with a year’s practical experience, having, for that period, conducted the musical exercises of the Normal School at Battersea, where a class of from thirty to forty boys has made satisfactory progress in the elements of part-singing. Of this undertaking we have forborne to speak, till we could testify, not only to the progress made by the pupils, but to the continuous pleasure taken by them in the act of study—a matter never to be lost sight of, when the instruction of masses in what is, at best, but destined for their amusement, is the desideratum.

Ere this method, however, can be brought into full operation, a number of efficient teachers must, of course, be trained; and for this object a School for the instruction of the Schoolmasters of Day-schools and Sunday-schools in Vocal Music is to be opened on the 1st of February, in Exeter Hall. “The Classes will consist entirely of persons engaged in

elementary education, either in day-schools, Sunday-schools, or evening-schools; and the course of Lessons will be so arranged as not only to impart to the masters who compose the classes such a knowledge of the theory of music as is necessary for the art of singing, but especially to enable them to turn their acquirements to account by teaching on the week-days whatever they may have been taught themselves, or by enabling them to conduct with greater skill the sacred music of the Sunday-school or public worship.” While we add, that the terms of admission are so small, as to raise this establishment only one degree in expense above those gratuitously opened by the continental governments, we cannot but wish that ours were able, not almost, but altogether, to follow out their example, and afford free entrance. But those days, we hope, are to come; and in the meantime a step, fraught with progress, is made.

What amount of ultimate fruit is to be expected from this attempt, should it be supported and prove as successful as it deserves to be, it is difficult to prophesy. In this land, where competition for the mere necessities of life is so hard and pressing, we should be, possibly, too enthusiastic, were we to expect that rich artistic result which might be produced among a people with more time for pleasure. Much will depend upon the state of musical art out of the school as well as in it—upon the opportunities which teachers and scholars may have of hearing, as well as studying—and of nourishing their emulation, by the power of making acquaintance with the works of great masters. In this condition, we are more fortunate in London than in Paris, where the amount of public vocal music, save of the theatrical class, is a mere nothing; while in London there already exist many cheap concerts and amateur societies, and their number is daily increasing. But whether the people of England be made to sing at sight or not, and whether or not the old days be revived, when a madrigal was a part of every gentleman’s household pleasure, while his tradesmen and retainers had their own roundels, and glees, and trolls—a great and substantial benefit is achieved in every hour that is redeemed from the beer-house and the gin-shop—in every hour during which the dimmest idea dawns upon the labourer, the mechanic, or the domestic, that he too is capable of something more than the duties of a machine; and that pastime is none the less seasonable, because it requires more thought than the exercises of the cock-pit or the ring, and is to be entered only by patient and cheerful labour. If a singing class for the people can be kept open at all, to our thinking, a great moral good is attained.

Inasmuch as music for the Church is distinctly music for the people, we may here also allude to the memorial recently laid before the Deans and Chapters of England by the cathedral organists and choristers, subscribed by the most eminent of those in the profession who interest themselves in our elder (and only) national school of composition. In this document, “the general inadequacy of the choirs to the due and solemn performance of cathedral music” is a thing stated without reserve; and those having authority are respectfully entreated to give larger powers to the directors, and to increase their numbers. We wish that this paper may produce its effect in “high places,” that the reproach of a feeble, slovenly, and vulgar performance of our best music in our finest buildings may be taken away from a body so amply endowed with revenues as the Deans and Chapters of the English Cathedrals. They must, else, prepare to find themselves distanced by the Dissenters. The old sectarian prejudice against a “kist fu’ o’ whistles” has long passed away; with the introduction of organs into chapels, the dogma has departed, that a love of fine music is perilous to spiritual improvement;—witness the success of the society at Exeter Hall, which, if we mistake not, is, in root and main substance, essentially a dissenting conventicle. It would be a sad reproach, were the Minister to be the temple worst provided with choral services; yet to this state matters will inevitably come, unless its dignitaries bestir themselves to originate and bring into effect liberal measures of increase and reform among their scanty and careless choirs.

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